

# NAPHTALI

OR  
The Wrestlings of the  
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND  
FOR THE  
KINGDOM of CHRIST;

*Contained in*

A true and short Deduction thereof, from  
the beginning of the Reformation of the Reli-  
gion, until the Year 1667.

*Together with*

The last Speeches and Testimonies of some, who  
have died for the Truth since the Year 1660.

*Whereunto are also subjoined*

A Relation of the Sufferings and Death of  
MR H E W M C K A I L, and some Instances of  
the Sufferings of Galoway and Nithisdale:

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LAM. 1: 12. *Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me, on the day of his fierce anger.*

MIC. 7: 8. *Rejoice not against me, O mine Enemy: When I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a Light unto me.*

*What shall one then answer the Messengers of the Nation? Their son the fo-  
ton, and the door of his People shall transfix an it.*



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## A D L E C T O R E M.

**N**on hic Herculæ sunt cum sudore palestre;  
Nullus Olympiaco in pulvere Ludus incens:  
Pro sudore crux Christi de Corpore manat;  
Ardua pro ludo est lucta, rapina, necesse.  
Scotica bis denis luctata Ecclesia Lustri;  
Penè dedit vietas, lassè labore, manus.  
Duros passa Patres dudum, velut ante Novercas,  
Vi primitur; Stygia fraude subacta gemit.  
Constitit effrænes contra tumidasque procellas;  
Pro que Fide steterat, dum stetit ulla fides.  
Nusquam cana fides nunc est, irrataque Cœli  
Numinæ, mortales, vinc'la nec ulla ligant.  
Credula dum nimis est, fida hæc Ecclesia; vanæ  
Spe lusæ, & rupto Fædere strata jacet:  
Strata tanen non tota jacet, de pulvere surgit,  
Auricomum tollet mox supra astra caput.  
Ipsa triumphalem currum Crux færa ministrat;  
Sanctorum sanguis fertile semen erit.  
Ecce! Sacerdotum turmam Regumque Coronam  
Pendentem insani de trabe, Lector, habes.  
Cerne oculo, Herorum facies & corpora cernas,  
Verba audi, & videoas pectora plena Deo,  
Hic loquitur Princeps, magnocum Judice, Vates;  
Et Juvenes, Vatum spes animosa senum.  
Hic Generosa cohors, Miles, Mercator, agel'  
Cultor, & Arte rudit, spirat ab ore Deum  
Disce immortalem hinc Animam, vitamque futuram,  
Nulla est, pro Chylsto, mors male grata pio.  
Pro Christi Crux, est, diadematæ Laurea; restis,  
& Fædere pro Sancto, est vita, monile, decus.



## READER.



HE LORD in great mercy , having wonderfully and with an outstretched arm, notwithstanding all the opposition of Sathan & earthly Principalities , redeemed Scotland from the Power and darkness , first of *Gentilism* , and then of *Anti-christianism* , by raising of some burning and shining Lights , and other Instruments fitted for that Work ; Whereby the Light of the Glorious Gospel , from a very smal beginning , did increase more & more , until at length , shining with brightness & heat , as the Sun in his strength , it filled the Land with knowledge , in so much that the name thereof became *Jehovah Shammah* , *the Lord is there* : And having built to Himself a house upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles , not only sufficiently instructed with righteous Laws & Judgments for Doctrine & Worship ; But also provided with all Ordinary Officers necessary in the Christian Church , and with a form of Church-Government , of his own Institution , distinct from , and without any prejudice unto the Civil Government of the Kingdom , Whereby the Church of Scotland , for Soundness of Faith , Purity of

Worship , Excellency of Government , Freedom and Power of the Gospel , beautiful Order & Unity , was not inferior to any , if not preferable to most of the Reformed Churches , and therefore was deservedly famous & esteemed amongst them : Having also , for an hundred Years , from it's first National Establishment , preserved the same from utter overthrow , notwithstanding the many various and renewed endeavours of men , by force and fraud , to reduce it unto the same Errors , Ignorance and Superstitions , wherein it self at first lay buried , and under which others groaned ; And several times revived and restored it , when by it's own Impurity , Indifferency and Formality it began to decline , or by the Treachery , Subtilty , or Violence of others it was oppressed ; thereby not only disappointing , confounding , and many times ruining the Adversaries , and comforting and strengthening the faithful ; But also alwayes rebuilding to Himself a Temple , the glory whereof did far excel and darken the glory of the former : And having many times engaged the whole Land to Himself , by several most solemn Obligations , of voluntary Surrender and Resignation , by frequently renewed Oaths and Covenants ; So that within these few Years past , there were not many persons of age , of what ever degree , and not so much as one Preaching Minister in all the Land , who not only did not make publick profession of the true Reformed Religion , but also subiect themselves unto the Presbyterial Form of Church Government and Discipline , and who did not ( which we desire to be noted ) for that effect in their own persons swear and subscribe with the hand unto the Lord , in the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant ; In so much , that as to the publick Profession of the Truth , and almost as to the number of persons , the Church of Scotland was of equal extent with the Nation , and in that respect , of all other National Churches , did most resemble the old Church of the Jewes : The Lord , I say ,

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say, having to the conviction and acknowledgement of our selves and others, done such great things for us; whereof we are glad, the present Apostacy, whereby Scotland's Bethel is come Behaven, and the Land that was sometimes Holiness unto the Lord is become (alas! too Edom like) the border of wickedness, and an *Aceldama*, a Tragical Theatre of blood and persecution, ought to be unto us no less matter of Sorrow, Shame and Fear, than it is Sin in it self, and Wonder and Amazement unto others. Who can hear our Covenanted and Kindest Lord, who hateth putting away, and defieth us to *sheir the bill of our Mothers divorcement*, who groaneth under our Backslidings, being pressed therewith as a cart ful of sheaves, complaining that He is broken with our whorish hearts, and therefore declaring that *He will be no more our Husband, nor we His Wife*, and that His heart cannot be toward us; But that *He will drive us out of His house, and love us no more, and not cover the lip for Shame?* And in consequence thereof, who can behold the Fathers house, not only defiled, by turning it into an house of Marchandise & den of theives, but the Temple cast down to the ground, and the Adversary in the midst thereof insultingly and scornfully set up their ensignes for signes of Triumph; & further, behold the blood of Saints shed like water, and their flesh given to be meat to the fowles of the heaven and beasts of the Earth, & not lament with *Jcremiah Cap. 9. v. 1, 2, 3.* Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the Daughter of my People. Oh that I had in the Wilderness a lodging place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my People, and go from them: For they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men. And thy bend their tongue like their bow for lies: But they are not valiant for the Truth upon the Earth, for they proceed from evil to evil, and they know not me, saith the Lord: And this will the more appear, not only if we remember the general nature of Backsliding, which is a

very comprehensive Sin , importing less Love , Fear and Trust in the true God, and proclaiming more Inconstancy, Unfaithfulness, and ingratitude towards him, than sometimes is found in very heathens towards their Idols ; But also if we consider that our present Defection hath all circumstantial Aggravations in the highest degree. For it is not in things only Civil, Indifferent, or of little moment; But in things Religious, Necessary, Important, & which at least in their tendency & consequence reach to the very foundation : It is not the effect of common, humane and invincible infirmity; but most free & voluntary, yea wilful & deliberate: It is not done by stealth, or in a corner; but avowedly & openly in the sight of the Sun : It is not Private and Personal; but Representative & Authorized, by Acts & Proclamations of King, Parliament and Council: It is not smoothly & subtilly, but most tyrannically carried on by military violence and cruelty : It is not of a few or inconsiderable Persons, but very Universal: The greatest part of all Ranks , and of some Ranks almost the whole , being some one way or other involved therein : It is not only of these , who were always of known and professed disaffection to the Cause and Covenant of God ; but also of many, who sometimes being exceeding zealous themselves , and exemplary and forcible upstirrers of others therein , are now become the chief Ringleaders thereof , and most bloody Persecuters of those who remain steadfast in the Truth : It is not in an Heathenish or Antichristian Land , or Church divided and broken with several Sects , as some others are ; but even in Scotland , so clearly enlightened , for which the Lord had wrought so many wonderfyl works , which was under so many obligations of Oaths and Covenants to the contrary , and had been so united in the profession of the Truth : It is not from violent force, Inevitable necessity or irresistible temptation ( which is neither possible , nor yet would excuse it ) but when the Lord , by breaking the yoke of forraim ,

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forrain Usurpation , had given King and Countrey the fairest opportunity which they ever had, to restore , confirm and advance His work ; as if He had delivered us , that we might work all these Abominations : And all this for no other end , than the base flattering of the Kings humor and inclination , satiating of Prelatical Pride and Ambition , the indulging of the licentious profanity of some Debauched and degenerated Nobles and others , who could not endure the yoke of Christ's sound doctrine and impartial discipline . And the suppression of Religion and Righteousness in the subversion of the late work of Reformation : Whereby we have charged our selves with all the blood that hath been shed upon either side , during the former wars ; Have laid a stumbling block before all , who shal see or hear of it , to blasphem Religion as a false pretence for Rebellion and Self - Interest , and to affirm that there is neither truth nor ingenuity in the Professors thereof . *Pass over the Isles of Chittim , and see if there be such a thing ; bath a Nation changed their Gods , which yet are no Gods ? But Scotland , Ah Scotland ! bath changed her glory for that which doth not profit . Be astonished , O ye heavens at this , and be horribly afraid :* And so much the rather , because few Lands did ever make Defection after this manner , but , as upon the one hand , the Lord gave them up unto more Backsliding , until they abounded more with Atheism and all manner of abominations , than some Pagan-Nations , who never heard nor made Profession of the Gospel ; So upon the other hand , He alwayes pursued them with sorest plagues , not only of subjugation at home , scattering and exile abroad , dividing of Kingdomes amongst themselves , and from their former Rulers , and final subversion of whole Empires , Kingdomes and Common wealths ; But also many times with the final removal of the Gospel , and utter dissolution of all visible National Covenant-relation , as might be demonstrated from Holy Scripture , and other Histories :

ries : And indeed , if He , to whom nothing is strange or impossible ( though they may seem both to us ) and whose wayes and thoughts are as far above ours , as the Heavens are above the Earth , do not in the Sovereignty of His Grace , recede from His ordinary method of dealing with such apostatizing People , and now when he hath seen our way do not heal us , we have , alas ! too too just ground of fear , that we shall become such a proverb amongst the Nations , that the generation to come of our Children , & the stranger that cometh from a far Land , when they see the plagues of this Land , shall wonder and ask , *Wherfore hath the Lord done this unto this Land ? What meaneth the heat of this great anger ?* Oh ! that the very first , and next following steps of Defection , together with the Gausles of the Lord's wrath against the Land , were remembred and acknowledged , and that all who have had any accession to the kindling of this flame ( and who can wholly Justify himself ? If any would , be sure , his own mouth should condemn him ) would draw water and pour it out before the Lord , for quenching thereof , and that the first resilers from our National Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to duties , would gloryt God by Contession , that he might turn from the fierceness of his Anger ; But alas ! He hath at once poured out upon us the spirit of *Whoredome* and of a *deep sleep* ! and hath both made us to err from His way , and hardned our hearts from his fear . And as we should look behind us to the Rise , so before us to the Result of these things ; for though every runner may read the *Primum mobile* of this course , the great axletree and wheels upon which all moveth , and who are the furious drivers and slavish drawers thereof , and we have both seen the several degrees of Motion & advancement , and smarted the sad effects of the same , yet I am afrai'd , that there is now another spirit in Persons & Tendency in affairs than some men apprehend . Whether there be a sufficient

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ficient ground in the Holy Scriptures to think with some, that before the last fall of the Roman Antichrist, the Popish Religion shall once more overshadow the Christian World, is not proper here to enquire; But considering the great affinity betwixt Papacy and Prelacy, and the already authorized & practized Conformity of the one to the other, not only in Government & Discipline, whereby they have, for the most part, the same Ecclesiastical Courts and Officers; But also in Worship, whereby they have the same Liturgy, for substance of Epistles, Gospels, Collects and Letany; The same Ceremonies of Rising, Standing to the East, Bowing, Kneeling, Crossing, &c. the same superstitious & fool-like Vestments; the same observation of many dayes, the same adorning of Churches & Chappels, with Altars, Books, Candles, Candlesticks, Basons, Images, and Crucifixes on windows, and the same Jesuitical sign upon their pulpit cloth; And also in several points of Doctrine, preached, licensed and printed, with many other things tedious to be enumerated: Considering also the constitution of Kingdoms, which by Ignorance, Atheisme, disputing and oppugning of the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, Error, Superstition, Profaneness, Indifferency, Formality and Hypocrisie in many, are much more than formerly disposed to embrace whatsoever shall be authorized or indulged: And considering the native tendency of the present Course of Backsliding, which leadeth unto the great Whore, the mother of all these abominations, nothing but gross, wilfull or judicial Ignorance, and estrangement from affairs, can deny that there is too just ground of fear, that ere long (if the Lord do not prevent it) Britain may be again precipitated into the old gulf of Antichristianism. And so much the rather, because it is universally observed & notourly known, that the number of professed Papists, hath increased more within these six Years, than it had for near sixty before; the conviction whereof made some of the Prelates themselves say some Years

Years hence, that since the Year 1660. there were more thousands of avowed Papists in Scotland (compute them what may and must be in *England* and *Ireland*) than before that Year there were hundreds. Whence this is, & whether there be any positive Resolution to reintroduce Popery in these Lands, I do not affirm, but remit it to the consideration of the impartial Reader who understandeth the times, & to Time it self, a great searcher & discoverer of secrets, to declare the genuine meaning & tendency of these things. That the King should publish in print, that the Papists had been faithful Subjects to him and his Father, whilst others under pretence of Religion had involved the Kingdoms in blood; Was that bloody Massacre in *Ireland*, whereof they were the known & acknowledged Actors, though perhaps not the only Authors, such Faithful service? That the execution of penal Statutes against Papists should be superseded, whilst severe penal Statutes are dayly enacted and executed against Protestants, really, though not under that name and notion. That so many known and open Idolatrous Masses should be connived at and tolerated, whilst both publick and private meetings of Protestants for pure Worship are prohibited by Law, and violently interrupted: That so many known professed Papists, Priests and Jesuites, who do not publickly countenance the Prelatical Worship are permitted to live peaceably and enjoy all their Liberties, whilst non complying Protestants, for simple Non-conformity to Prelacy, are imprisoned, fined, confined, scourged, stigmatized, and many otherwayes oppressed & persecuted, in their Estates, Consciences & Names. That so many Papists especially in *England* should enjoy and be dayly advanced to the greatest places of publick Power and Trust, not only as members of Parliament, Council, and Court, but as State Officers, Lieutenant Sheriffs, Justices of Counties, and Officers in Army, whilst ~~Rede~~ Protestants, for simple non-perjuring, a som

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some of them not so much as permitted to sit in Parliament, or any other Judicatory; others of them discredited, disgraced, disarmed, imprisoned and proscribed, and all of them who will not forswear, declared incapable of publick Power or Trust in Church or Commonwealth: That a house for Fathers or Friars is provided; whilst many faithful Ministers are removed and chased from place to place, without any certain habitation: That there should be such universal Report, and so much Presumption of a Popish hand in burning of *London*, which, for number and strength of Protestant Inhabitants, was the most considerable City in the World, and bulwark against the Romish Religion and designes, and yet, as if men were afraid to try the truth in that matter, so little satisfying and effectual course taken, to try and punish the Authors and Actors, and to repress their many other insolent misdemeanors; whilst many thousands of innocent Protestants, who never burnt either house or City, for no other alleged crime but their peaceable forbearance to bow to the Idol which the King hath set up, are thrown into a furnace of fiery Trial, seven times more heated than ever was known in the Christian World for such a Cause, all things being considered.

It may seem strange to the Nations about, and to the Generations following, that the Church of *Scotland* which had been so faithful and chaste, should have suffered herself to be thus prostituted, and that (if she would not otherwayes, after the manner of her Fathers, contend for the Faith which she had received) she did not cry to all the World by Declarations and Protestations (as the Maid under the Law) that she was forced; And that of all the sons which she had brought forth, there were so few, either to take her by the hand, and plead openly for her, or to plead with her, that she would put away her whoredoms. This indeed is, and ought to be for a lamentation: But let none therefore conclude (as

some of the profane and perfidious Prelates, measuring others after their own baseness & treachery, had the impudence at first to misrepresent to the Rulers) that all were, or are consentient unto this horrid Apostacy; for even at the beginning thereof, if Synods (which were then resolving to bear publick Witness for the then established Government of the Church, and against the begun Detection, and further progress thereof by the Re-introduction of Prelacy, which was then designed) had not been, some of them, by Proclamation prohibited to conveen, and others of them violently interrupted and raised by Nobles, who, by Order of Parliament, were present for that effect; And if some of her Watchmen (who were neither professedly driving on, nor secretly breathing after Prelacy and Prelatical promotion) had not for Reasons best known to themselves, too much courted and flattered the Powers by their own silence, and withdrawing of their necessary and required concurrence in a publick joint Testimony, there wanted not Faithfulness, Zeal, Courage, Resolutions and some Endeavours in others to have emitted such Declarations, as probably might have crushed the bold attempt of the Prelates in it's infancy, & thereby have prevented much Sin and Suffering which hath ensued thereupon, & certainly would have winnessed to all the World, that the Church without and against her consent was treacherously betrayed & violently forced. Neither hath the Truth, all along from that time till this, wanted many testimonies, though none of them were so National, Universal, Authoritative & Solemn as they should have been; And few of them (perhaps) so explicite, full, plain and bold, as the weight of the matter and other circumstances required: Yea, the continued fears of the Adversaries expressed in the Narratives of several of their own Acts and Proclamations, and their levying of Military Force, for upholding of them and their Cause; The Non-

compliance of many thousands , their secret and open complaints and moans because of it , & their daily prayers to God against it , bear witness against this present Course . Besides , it is very observable , that some , who had been chief Authors & Active Promoters thereof and Complyers with the same , and others , who had been intimate familiars and favourers of Prelats and their Vice Curats , in Sickness and at Death did so much abhorre their way and loath their Persons , that they would not admit their presence , but called for Non-conforming Ministers to speak to them and pray for them ; Yea some Gentlemen upon Death bed , did with much sorrow bemoan their own concurrence , and particularly their taking of the Declaration against the Covenant , & seriously warned and exhorted their old Familiars & companions in that guilt to repent thereof , wishing they were able to go and make publick profession of their own Repentance ; and others ( whilst some friends offered to bring Prelatical men unto them ) professed , that though they had sported with such men in health , yet they durst not do so at Death ; and some Ministers who had conformed , in remorse thereof , forsook that way , & thereafter died with convincing evidence of Repentance therefore , and declaration against the same : And indeed , as there was never any Course in the Land , which so visibly had the Voluntary and Active Concurse of all and Only the Wicked and Prophane ; so there was never a more Universal concurrence and Wrestling together by prayer , of all the Godly without Exception , against any Party & Cause , than now is against this ; for there needs no more to make any man ( though formerly their friend and familiar ) to hate their way and detest themselves , but to convince him of his own Sin , make him thorrowly apprehensive of death and Judgment . and become a sincere seeker of God , and Student of holiness in his own Person . And further the late Rising in Armes , is an Argument

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gument above contradiction, that Prelacy is an out lan-  
dish & Unnatural weed in *Scotland*. It is true, that it had  
its immediat Rise from cruel Oppression, but it is as  
true, that all that Oppression, was Authorised by the  
Rulers, Exercised by the Souldiers, and endured by the  
People, meerly *Because* and upon accompt of their Faith-  
fulness and Stedfastnes in the Covenant and Cause of  
**God**, in a non complyance with Prelacy, otherwise they  
might have lived as quetyl as others, and so soon as they  
were in a probable Capacity, by renewing of the Cove-  
nant, they declared Actively for that same Cause, for  
which they had suffered so much: It is true also, that  
the Action is condemned by some as Rebellious, and the  
Endeavour as Indeliberate, Irrational and Presumptuous;  
But referring the Reader to the following discourse for  
full satisfaction thereanent, I shall only here hint, that  
being altogether accidentally occasioned, by an unfore-  
seen emergent difference betwixt 3, or 4. Souldiers and  
as many Countrey men, arising from horrid Oppression,  
through unjust Lawes and cruel military execution there-  
of, without premediated counsel or contrivance, it can-  
not be imagined that all the formalities, which may be  
judged necessary in a matter of that nature & importance,  
could have been in it: And yet it is presumed, that it  
wanted nothing but success to have made many of the  
same persons account the Action just and necessary, and  
the Enterprize, laudable and valorous. And as for the  
Personsthemselfes, it may be truely and without all va-  
nity affirmed, that these many years past, there hath not  
been in *Brittain* such an other Company of men joyned in  
Armes for the Covenant and Cause of God: For though  
where Armies were more numerous, there might be or  
was the like or a greater number of persons truly Godly;  
Yet where the whole number was so small, it will be very  
hard to parallel so many together, of sound Judgement,  
true Piety, Integrity of heart, fervent zeal, and undaun-  
ted

ted Resolution & Courage , and with so small a mixture  
of persons of corrupt Mindes , profane Conversations  
& sinistruous Ends : And although we would not be pro-  
digal of mens lives , especially of Saints at this time ,  
when there is so great need & scarcity of intercessors , to  
stand between the dead and the living ; yet that simple act  
of Renewing of the Covenant is more glory to God . & a grea-  
ter Testimony and Advantage to that buried Covenant  
& Cause , than (we hope) the loss of so many men as are  
falln , shall import of damage thereunto . But above all ,  
take notice of the many Sufferings and *Sufferers* hereafter  
mentioned , whose Blood under the altar , and some of  
whose Heads and Hands standing betwixt Heaven and  
Earth : do not only cry for Vengeance , but night and  
day bear open Witness against this Adulterous Generati-  
on . These mens Testimony should have the more weight  
and Credite with all , because of the Persons , the Matter ,  
and Manner thereof , which was not by Wishing , Words-  
speaking , or Doing without danger , which is the height  
of too many men's achievement in these dayes , but by  
B L O O D , whereunto they refisted striving against Sin ,  
and thereby , being neither afraid to Act , nor ashamed  
to suffer for their Lord and Master , have left behind them  
a fair Example of both to all , and a Reprof to many ,  
whose greater Prudencie than Zeal , hath taught them to  
Save themselves , by couching betwixt the burdens . That  
a great Prince , and yet not so Great as Good , an Emi-  
nent and more than ordinarily Useful , and never to be  
forgotten Instrument of the Work of Reformation & Pa-  
tron of the Church , and a True & Seeing Prophet , did  
fall in Scotland , when Argile , Wariston and Mr Guthrey ,  
for no other cause but their Good deeds , & particularly for  
Loving of our Nation & building of our Synagogue , were  
led like Innocent sheep to the Slaughter , nothing but Ignor-  
ance , Malice , Wickednes , or Partiality can deny :  
For they wanted nothing to make them Beloved , as they  
were .

were esteemed and Feared by their Enemies , but that they neither did nor would , because for Love and awe of God they durst not with others make Shipwreck of Faith and Good conscience . Of these three Mighty men , and Others who by Suffering since have obtained the Crown ( though some of them , being but Country Yeoman , had mean Education ; and little other Learning , than what they learned in the Gospel of Him who is meek and Lowly , and whom the Zeal of his Fathers house did eat up ) it is below their due Commendation , when it is affirmed , That never any men of the greatest Spirits . Piety and Learning , did Suffer and Die with more Meekness and Patience toward their Enemies , with more Humility and Confidence toward God , with more Faithfulness & Stedfastnes in the Truth , without the least injurious reflexion thereupon , or their own adherence thereunto , with more Equability and composure of Spirit ; sweetly tempered with the Sorrow s of Sin and Joyes of the Holy Ghost , in assurance of Pardon and Life Everlasting , and with less perturbation of mind , and alteration of Carriage or Countenance , than these *Worthies* did . Here indeed was the Faith and Patience of the Saints , here did the Lord stand by and strengthen them whom others forsook : Yea the Lord to the Admiration of all , the conviction of many of their adversaries , the confirmation and Establishement of the Cause , the Encouragement of many thousands , His own Eternal Glory , and their Immortal Commendation , did Work in the hearts of all Beholders , more ample and enduring Epistles of Commendation , than the most Eloquent and Pathetick Rhetorician can Writ in their Favours . This accempt further I will give you of the first ten who died together December 7. that they once resolved to speak severally to the People at their death ; but thereafter considering , that for one Common Cause , and upon the same alleagances , they were all appointed to die one manner of death , together at one time and in one place , and having the convei- ency

ency of being together in the Prison, they preferred to leave a word jointly behind them in writ: Which as it was the Cause of one conjunct Testimony, and some others severally; So the Foreseeing Providence of God in this, is very observable: For had it been otherwise, seeing they were not at all permitted to speak to the People upon the scaffold, there had nothing of their joint Testimony been extant, more than is of those who were not suffered to speak at their death in Glasgow, and of the rest who suffered in other places of the West, of whom we have heard nothing more particular, but that the same Spirit of Glory and of God resting upon them, did work in them all, the same Stedfastness, Patience, Humiliy, Consolation, Courage and Confidence.

These being the last times, wherein Sin abounding, & the love of many is waxed cold, I cannot divine what pity shall be shewed to them that are in Misery; especially considering the Universal decay of Religion, and dark cloud of prejudice and discountenance, whereby the Kingdom of Christ is overshadowed, generally the whole world over, and even amongst the Reformed Churches: Nevertheless, there being a Communion of Saints, which should be entertained amongst both Persons & Churches, whereby these of the same true Religion (amongst other things) reciprocally give & receive information of their common affaires, that, if they can or will express no other act of Love, they may (at least) the more suitably Sympathize, and mutually pray one for another; And the Lord in his Providence, giving the opportunity, I thought it convenient, yea necessary, to communicat the following *Deduction of the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdome of Christ*, hoping, that as it beareth the Name, so, the Wrestling Church of Scotland, in due time shall reap the Blessing of NAPHTALI, who Gen 49: 21. is called a Hinder let loose, and said to give goodly words: For who can tell, but her Wrestlings may be swallowed up of Victory &

*Liberty, and Her ancient Covenanted Doctrine, Worship and Government, may become as Pleasant and acceptable, at it is profitable, not only within herself, but also amongst the Churches abroad.* This Title being only affirmative of Her, and not Negative of other Churches, as if only She, and not also They, had Wrestled for the Kingdom of Christ, let no man offend thereat: For as the Lord Redeemer hath several Offices, equally Necessary in themselves, and Inseparable by Man, and as particular Churches, as well as Persons, have their peculiar gifts and Excellencies, and accordingly their distinct work assigned unto them, whereby (amongst other things) they, more or less eminently, assert and Propugne this or that particular Truth; So in this distribution, where as other Churches have asserted and contended for his Priestly and Prophetical Offices, the lot seemeth to have fallen upon Scotland, to assert & wrestle more eminently than many others, for the Crown and Kingdom of Jesus Christ. For the establishment of this, did our first famous Reformers strive by the evidence of Holy Scripture, as well as for Soundness of Doctrine and Purity of Worship; for Preservation and Restauration of this, did their Worthy Successors Zealously contend by Petitions, Warnings, Conferences and Disputations; all invasion, Usurpation, or the least encroachment upon this, did they valiantly resist by Protestations and Declinatures, and for a Testimony to this, did they patiently suffer Bonds, Imprisonment, Confinement, Sentences of Death, and (of late) Death it self. Neither should any man think this strange, as if Presbyterian Government were in it self Unlawful, or the Species of Church Government, were indifferent; and consequently Contending & Suffering therefore, Unwarrantable or Needless, as Pretenders to different Forms (upon the right and left hand) would have the World believe. Hitherto indeed the Church of Scotland hath been as a Speckled bird, & the birds round about have been against her, She hath endured the scourge of many

tongues, as well as Violence of many hands, upon both hands false witnessesse have laid to her charge things which she knew not; as being ( amongst other things ) too Laxe or too Rigide; Yeas Unnatural Children have eaten thorow their Mothers bowels, so Unkindly Brethren have rewarded her evil for good, Standing on the other side and looking upon her and her affliction in the day of her calamity, revicing over her in the day of her destruction, and speaking proudly in the day of her distress, yea laying bands on her Substance in the day of her calamity. The wrath of man worketh not the Righteousness of God, neither doth his invincible Truth need the help of humane Passions, if therefore, such men do not fear, I shal not desire, that their own tongues may fall upon themselues, and that the Lord may render unto them according to their deeds, and according to the wickedness of their endeavours, but rather study the revenge of good will by Prayer, that He would open their eyes and convert their hearts, that they may take revenge on themselves. Charity, which thinketh no evil, obligeith to beleeve, till wee see the contrary, that Scripture, Conscience, Covenant & Credite will make those who did once laudably assert, constantly propugn & adhere to the *ius Divinum* of Presbyterial Government, until they publith (which none can do) as convincing reasons of Retraction & contrary Practise: And whatever might be expected of others, Religion, Reason, Candor, Gratitude, and Policy would seem to require, that those who in their distress intreated & obtained the succesful Assistance of the Covenanted Interest of Scotland, and others, who owe thereunto whatever they are, or have more then just nothing, debt, or broken fortunes should have been so far from contemptuous throwing away the Covenant as an old Almanack, when, by it as a stirrup, they had mounted the saddle of Power, Promotion and Riches, and from subtle dissolving the nerves, or forcible breaking the Arme of Presbytery, that they should rather have said to both as Ruth to Naomi; where shou goest,

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I will go; where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy People shall be my People, and thy God my God: Where thou diest, I will die, & there will I be buried: God do so to me and more also; if ought but death part thee and me. And it may be truly laid, as the Church of Scotland hath had no Detractors, but such as were Ignorant of her, or mis-informed about her, or whom Faction, Partiality, Prejudice, wickedness or Love of unlawful Liberty did inspire; So no Person or Party hath endeavoured hitherto to root out Presbytery, but the Lord hath made it a burdensome stone unto them: And I am sure, there is no other Form of Church Government can boast of so many Testimonies by Blood as Presbyterial Government might do. But of all Contradictors, the Church of Scotland, of old and late, hath only had to do (within herself) with Prelatists, some whereof, being high flown; have pleaded *ius Divinum*, others (Antiquaries) have pleaded *Antiquity*, and many Adiaphorists of late, being beaten from both these strengths, have pleaded *Indifferency* in general, and only *ius Carolinum*, as to this or that species: But as no eyes, save their own, neither these except by delusion of their sense, could ever see *Prelacy* (that is, an Ordinary Ecclesiastical Order, . Distinct from and Superior to that of a Preaching Presbyter, having the sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction) in the Holy Scripture, otherwise than by Prohibition to *Lordit* over Gods heritage, or in the example of *Diotrephes* who loved *Prebeminence* (as many famous writings, whereunto I refer the Reader, unanswerably demonstrate) and therefore, the Office being a stranger in the Word of God, rather than the brazen Serpent which once had Divine Institution, should be Nebuchadnezzar in the Church; So let no man, Exorcist-wise, adjure us by the Charming word of *Antiquity*, *Primitive times* and *Bishops*, *Fathers*, &c. For *Moses* we know, the Prophets and Apostles we know, but what is *Antiquity*, and who are the primitive *Bishops* and *Fathers*? Must men be stigmatized, as giddy headed Novellists, and as much *Athenian*

thenian in their Principles and Professions, as other men in their Newes, or then be Implicit in tail-following Anti-quaries? No, there is a Medium of proving all things, & holding that which is good: Pure Antiquity deserveth all esteem and reverence, but Simple Antiquity, *as such*, is neither a certain nor Safe Rule, and much less oblieging to future times. and so remote as our's are. Our Lord Himself repelleth that pretence, that it was said of Old: Were there not many Errors and Corruptions (which themselves will not Justify) as ancient, and early in the Church (yea more) than Prelacy is alleaged to be? We are commanded to the Law and Testimony, but never to the Fathers, and good reason, because few or none of them were without gross errors in Judgment or Practice: Are not the writings of the first Age very few, or obscure? Are not many of these and after Ages lost or Corrupted? Yea other latter writings are deceitfully emitted under the name of Ancient Times and Persons, so that in such a mist, it is hard to determine what was written by these Fathers, what not: Latter, Corrupt or Inadvertant writers about these former times, did speak of Persons and things, under the abused Names which were corruptly used in their own times: And the writings of particular Persons (suppose of greatest Antiquity) do rather hold forth their own private Opinion, or the Practice of the Time and Place wherein they lived, than the Universal Judgment and Practice of the Church in all Times and Places. And if they will Sanctuary themselves in primitive Times, let it be cleared what is meant by Primitive; For if the two first Ages be meant, it is more than they can do, to prove by sufficient Authority, that there was then such a Prelacy, as is before mentioned, or now usurped and exercised; If after ages be meant, wherein the Church grew more corrupt; and Prelacy did aspire and exalt it self, to an Universal Supremacy in the Bishop of Rome, & establishment of that Antichristian Hierarchy, then indeed they are like themselves, for twins were never

more like in face, than the present Prelats resemble the Romish, but then it were Candor in them, to tell plainly, that Papacy and Prelacy are of one Original, with this difference, that Prelacy is the first born, or rather the Father which begat the other; And if they mean a Middle time, betwixt these Periods, wherein indeed Bishops were first known in the Church, and will reckon their descent from them, why are they so unlike unto them, that they look neither like Sons nor Successors? Ask those who have dived into these depths of Antiquity: and they will tell, that a present Prelat, and a faithful Presbyterian Pastor (or Moderator at most) do little more differ, than the present Prelats and the first Primitive Bishops: For as it was long before such a thing was known in the Church, so when thorow the Malice & Subtilty of Sathan, the Ambition of some Church men, the Unwatchfulness of others, and Indulgence of some Magistrats, it did creep in, at first it was intended and acknowledged for no more, then a Prudential Humane device for greater Unity (a Cure, because without warrant, worse than the disease, which, as the Apostles never prescribed in their own times, though there were then many Divisions, so there is a like Reason to extend further to Papal Supremacy, in the case of divisions amongst Prelats and Patriarches) and had never the impudence to aspire (with some present Prelats) so high as *Jus Divinum*; At first these Primitive Bishops, being Elected by other Presbyters, with consent of the people, and not by the Civil Magistrate only, now the Prelats are by the Kings Letter to the Dean & Chapter, were Ordained by the onlaying of the hands of Presbyters and not of Bishops only, as the Prelats are; Their Ordination was not Essentially different from that of Presbyters, nor to an Order distinct from that of Presbyters or Pastors, as the Consecration of the Prelats is alleagued to be; Neither did they (though perhaps they had a negative voice) usurp the sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction

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risdiction , nor Exerce the Acts thereof , without the  
potestate Concurrence of Other Presbyters , as now the  
Prelats do ; Many of them being Holy , Humble , and  
Sober in their conversation toward the people and other  
Presbyters , did not ( with the present Prelats ) assume  
the lofty Titles of *Lordship* , *Grace* , &c. Nor live and ride  
in such state and pomp , claiming and taking the preference  
of the greatest Peeres of the Land ; Ordinarly , and especially  
at the beginning , they had not such vast charges , as  
now the Prelats have Diocies over Hundreds of Pastors , &c  
many Thou'ands of people , to whom it is utterly impossible  
to perform Ministerial duties ; Being diligent Preachers  
themselves , they were not , as the Prelats are , Idle drons ,  
nor Non-Residents , nor yet of a strange language to the  
people , as *Wallace* , through his ignorance of the Irish  
tongue , and almost of all others except his Mothers , must  
be a Barbarian to his Diocy of the Western Isles , Neither  
did they involve themselves in Secular affairs and Offices ,  
than which , what is there more absurd in Reason , and re-  
pugnant to Scriptural precept and Example ? For Christ  
Himself telleth us , that his Kingdome is not of this World ,  
*Job. 18: 38.* and how can his Officers be of it ? He refused  
to be a judge , *Luc. 12: 14.* And , speaking to the Disci-  
ples of Civil Authority and Dominion , saith , it shall not be  
So amongst you , *Mat. 20: 25.* *Luc. 22: 25.* And the Apo-  
stle *Paul* telleth us , that Ministerial weapons are not  
*Carnal.* *2 Cor. 10: 4.* And that the Ministers of the Gospel  
should not entangle themselves with the *affairs of this Life*  
*2 Tim. 2: 4.* That the Ministerial calling is so weighty , that  
the best qualifie'd and most diligent is not sufficient for it ,  
*2 Cor. 2: 16.* how then are they sufficient for it , and civil  
affairs too ? And therefore they should *Wait* upon it ,  
*Rom. 12: 7.* and give themselves wholly to it , *1 Tim. 4: 15.*  
and not wait ( as the Prelats do upon Courts , Parliaments ,  
Council , Convention of Estates , &c. as members thereof ,  
nor Exerce the office of Provosts , Justices of peace , &c.

B 4

Nor.

Nor will it excuse them, that they commit Ministerial inspection of the flock to Deputes: For if they be Shepherds, should not the *Shepherds* feed the *Flock*? *Ezeck. 34: 2.* If to them be committed the Ministry, Teaching, Exhorting, should they not themselves *Wait* upon these? *Rom. 12: 7.* If they must give account of Souls, should they not *Watch* for them? *Heb. 13: 17.* And if the Lord will require the flock at their hand, *Ezeck. 34: 10.* how wil they answer to God, the people, their own Conscience (if they have any) or to others who ask a reason of them, for feeding of themselves only, & committing the flock to Others, and especially to such, who are so far from being Learned, Holy, Apt to teach, Blameless, of a good report, chaste, Sober, Grave, Lovers of good men, Meek and Gentle, as the Scripture requireth, that many are Novices, Ignorant, Prophane, Light, Given to Wine, False, Covetous, Contentious, Proud, Passionat, and Self willed, and so far from taking heed to the flock, or being an Example to them, in Word, Conversation, Charity, Spirit, Faith and Purity, that they neither take heed to themselves, nor rule their own families well? I remember that one speaking of such as commit the flock to Vicar Curats (as all are who serve under Prelacy) saith, *Adibunt per Vicarios in Paradisum, in Persona in Inferos.* They shall go to Heaven by their Deputes, but to Hell in Person. These men (if I may borrow an allusion from the duty and commendation of faithful and approved Ministers) have taken forth the Precious from the Vile, and taught the people the difference between the Holy and Profane, & caused men to discern between the Unclean and the Clean; but mark How, & for what End; Is it not by making sad the hearts of the Righteous, whom they have selected, & set up as the only object of all their malice & persecution, & Strengthening the hands of the Wicked, whom they have taken into their bosome, as their only Familiars & Confidants. The one they thrust with the fide & shoulder, the other they do not suffer to turn from his evil way, by promising

ing his life. But if any desire more particular information about them, amongst other places to that purpose, let them read & consider, *Jer 23: 9. to 33. & 5: 31. Ezek. 34: 1. to 11.* and 22. 25, 26, 28. *Zeph. 3: 4. Mal. 2. 8, 9. Mat. 23.* and 7. (as face answereth to face in water) they shall see their Call, Qualities, Doctrine, Conversation, Works and Influence amongst the people, and the Effects of all, together with their righteous Doom and Reward. He hath already made Contemptible and Base before the people, those who have corrupted the Covenant of *Levi*, and being partial in the Law, have made many to stumble thereat, and will he not cause to cease from feeding of the flock, those who feed themselves, eat the fat and cloath with the wooll, but do not (for indeed they cannot) strengthen the diseased, heal the sick, bind up that which is broken, bring back that which is driven away, nor seek that which is lost. They have not only turned his house of Prayer into a den of Theives, but from them is profaneness gone forth over all the Land, & seeing they deserve no more honourable Exit, will he not scourge out of his Temple those who have sold Faith and a good Conscience for a mease of pottage? Yea seeing He hath said it, we will beleieve; that He will make the false Prophet & the Unclean Spirit pass out of the Land, and that these men shall bear the Wounds or marks of False Prophets, and for shame shall deny (for lies are their ordinary refuge) that ever they were prophets. And that Others, perhaps their neareft Relations, the Fathers and Mothers who begat them, shall so little esteem, regard, or Pity them, that they shall account them unworthy to live (*Ye shall not live.*) And that He will again gather those that are now sorrowful for the solemn Assemblies, that he will search for the flock, seek that which was lost, bring back that which was driven away, bind up that which was broken, and strengthen that which was sick, by the hand of Pastors after his own Heart, who, under and after the Example of the great shepheard DAVID, shall feed them

in a good pasture with Wisedome and Understanding. To all this, as well as the Curse upon them who make the blind to wander out of the way, let all the People say, *Amen.*

Neither are they who plead an *Indifferency* of Forms of Ecc. Government, more Scriptural or Rational than the Former: For it seemeth equally absurd & inconsistant with the Faithfulness of J. Christ, who was faithful to Him who appointed him; With the Lords way of dealing with the Jewish Church, whereunto he prescribed a Specifical and Fixed Form of Goyernment; And with the Perfection and Plainness of the Holy Scriptures, wherein all Church Assemblies, Officers, Powers, Acts, and who should Exercise the same, and every other thing necessarily belonging thereunto, which the Light of Nature doth not teach, & is not common to it with Civil Government and Order; are clearly held forth, Expressly or by necessary Consequence, in Special or General directions and warrantable Examples (as appeareth by the many debats Extant thereon) to leave the Government of his Church Indifferent, and Arbitrarily determinable and alterable, according to the will of the Civil Magistrat. or the various and mutable humours and Inclinations of Persons, Times and Places, or the pretended conveniency of Civil Policy, as to leave Doctrine and Worship thus Indifferent, and arbitrarily determinable and variable, according to these crooked and changeable rules: If Church Government must be Indifferent, and thus arbitrarily determinable and Ambulatory, because the Holy Scripturs do not Expressly affirme, that Presbyterial Government is the *Only* Government, which should be in the Christian Church, and also Expressly declare, that it is *Vnalterable* to the worlds end; and that the first Institution and Practice thereof, by the Apostles and their Succellors in the Ministry, never was nor shall be Repealed, why may not the Civil Magistrat, or any other arrogating a power of Instituting or Altering Church Go-  
ver-

vernment or Officers, by Parity of reason, make many other Necessary and Practical points of Faith, which are not more expressly declared by the Holy Scriptures to be Unalterable Truths, than Presbyterial Government is ( though all be evident enough ) to be also Indifferent, and arbitrarily determinable and mutable? And then farewell Infant baptism, Womens receiving of the Lords Supper, and observation of the first day of the week for the Christian Sabbath, yea, farewell Law and Testimony, and more sure Word of Prophecy, wherunto we should go and take heed; & for a new Rule of Faith and Practice welcome Humane Prudence, State Policy, Corrupt and Changeable Disposition of man, & pretended Necessity, or Conveniency of State, Time and Place; yea welcome all Doctrines and Practices, which, though they were once positively prohibited, can allege that the Scripture doth not Expressly declare, that they never were, nor shall be repealed. And where are we then? In vain is the Law, in vain is the pen of the Scribe, and every one, without transgression, may do what seemeth good in his own eyes, if only he can Temporize, and offend not the Civil Magistrat, by violation of his Arbitrary Institutions and Lawes in Church affairs, wherein he must be Supream. *O my soul, come not into the secrets of such Latitudinarian, or rather (in this) Nullifidian Adiaphorists.* We would not be here mistaken, as it we denied to the Civil Magistrat any Power, which the Holy Scriptures allow unto Him; for as we assert his Office to be an Ordinance of God, and his Person ( being lawfully therewith vested ) to be signally impressed with a special Character of Majestick Authority, wherefore, in a due Subordination to Him who is Lord over all, He should be subjected to and obeyed; So we chearfully grant, that, whereas the Heathen Magistrat ( because of his Moral incapacity to Exerce more power ) about Religion and Ecclesiastical affai's, hath only a Power in *Actu signis* and *ius ad rem*, the Christian Magistrat

hath *ius in re*, and in *Actu Exerciton* may and should by his Lawes establish the true Religion within his dominions, & command his Subjects to make publick profession thereof. That by his Civil Sanction he may and should Ratify Ecclesiastical Sentences, agreeable to the Word of God; That by these he may and should Exercise an Antecedent Discreetive Judgment, whereby he may not add an Implicit approbation; That for Preaching and Propagation of the Gospel, and for nursing of Piety and Learning, he may & should provide Necessary and Convenient accommodation and encouragement, as to Persons, Places and Revenues; That for his own Information and Advice; he may call Occasional Meetings of Church Officers and others, to Conferre and Debate matters before him; That *Pro re nata* he may Convocate Ecclesiastical Synods, to reason and conclude Church affairs according to the Scripture; That for his own Information, and for preventing of Outward Force and Inward Confusion, he may be Present therein by Himself or his Delegats; That by his Power he may and should Defend and Encourage the Church, in the free and peaceable Possession of all her Intrinscal Priviledges, and all the Members thereof, in the Profession and Practice of the same; That by the same Authority he may and should repress Error, Heresy, Superstition, Atheisme, Blasphemy and Profaneness, and Punish the Authors and Spreaders thereof; That in case of negligence, he may Command all, and even Ministers to performe their respective duties in general, as necessity requireth; And that for Civil transgressions, he may Civilly punish Ecclesiastical Persons; as well as other Subjects, according to the Law of God and Righteous Lawes of the Land: The Zealous discharge of all which, we would thankfully acknowledge to God and Man, as the performance of that gracious Promise, that *Kings shall be the Churches nursing Fathers*. But if discontented herewith, as if all this, together with the Weighty affairs of the Common wealth, were

, & were too little work for his Transcendent Power and Abilities, and as if Jesus Christ had no Kingdom or Government, or these were not distinct from the Kingdoms & Government of the World, or though they were, as if he were equally Head and Fountain of Faith, He will needs arbitrarily Institute, or Alter the Species of Church Government; Authorize, Exauthorize or restrain Church Officers, & in the Exercice of the Power of Order or Jurisdiction, in whole or in part, as the Parliament and Council have prohibited some Hundreds the whole Exercice of their Ministry, and the *High Commission* ( which claimeth no power, but what is solely and immediatly derived from the King ) hath deprived some from the Office, and interdicted Others the administration of the Lords Supper; If he will Define Articles of Faith, and prescribe what heads of Doctrine, Ministers shall treat, or not treat of in their Sermons, as the King hath done in his printed Letter to the Bishop of York; And thereupon Primarily, Immediately, and Antecedently to any Judgment of the Church, which is the Pillar of Truth, and to which the Spirits of the Prophets are Subject, Cognosce and Determine of Ministers Doctrine, when the Church herself is willing and ready to try the Spirits; And Criminally or Capitally punish them therefore, under the pretence of Treason and Rebellion, as several instances can be adduced against King and Council in the series of our Church; It he will Ordain particular Church Censurs to be executed against particular persons, for particular, definite, Ecclesiastical (alleged) offences, leaving nothing undone by Himself in person, but the Execution of what he hath appointed, As the Parliament hath appointed Suspension and Deprivation of Ministers, for not observing the Bishops meetings, and the King in his Commission to the *High Commission* hath appointed Excommunication, whereas they may as well Immediately Suspend, Deprive and Excommunicate themselves, as Appoint them to be executed in the manner specified in the said Act of Par-

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parliament and Commission; If after the example of Antient  
christian or Pagan Nations , he will institute and Enjoinnd  
Needless , Vain , Superstitious , Significant and Burdened  
some Rites in the Worship of God , as most of the Imposed and  
Ceremonies in the Liturgy , can be instructed to be . If he  
will arrogate the Sole Power of convocating Ecclesiastical and  
Synods , which is an Intrinsecall priviledge of the Church , in his  
whereof She was in Possession three hundred years before eccl  
there was a Christian Magistrate in the world Authorizing it; non  
And will Imprison , Confine , Condemn , and Banish Mi-  
nisters , for pleading and Practising this Right , as King in  
James did not a few in and about the Year 1606. and theee  
Present King of late , by Parliament , Council and Com-  
missioner , did interdict all the Lawful Assemblies of the  
Church , which did not derive their Power from the Abju-  
red and Perjured Prelats ; and if he will not only claim the  
only power of indicting Solemn Fastes and Thanksgivings , he has  
as *de Facto* is done these 5 or 6. Years past , but also instituting  
a day to be Aniversarily Holy for ever , which no mor-  
tal man can do ; If , I say , He will thus Invade the King-  
dom of Christ , confound it with the Kingdoms of the  
World , and equally Exerce the Governments of both , no  
man needs pronounce , but rather fear the Domestical and  
Personal doom , Executed upon Saul and Vzziab for usur-  
ping the Priests office. How unequal dealing is it , that  
He who clamoureth so much of other men , and particu-  
larly Ministers wandering without their sphere , and over-  
stretching - meddling with Civil affairs , should himself be  
Circumscribed and move within no Fixed sphere ? Is it not  
enough that He have a power Objectively Ecclesiastical ,  
about Church affaires , but he must also have a power For-  
mally Ecclesiastical , whereby he may Exerce Acts purely  
Spiritual , and proper to Church Officers ? Will it not  
suffice him , that he have an External power , of providing  
for the Church , and protecting of her from Outward Vi-  
olence or Inward Disorder , but he must also have an Inter-  
nal

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Antical power, of Doctrine, Government, and Discipline, joined the several Forms and Acts thereof; Is it not Sufficient den that he have an Imperat power, whereby He may command all his Subjects, as such, to do their respective duelfies; but he must also have an Elicit power, whereby he may at leaſt materially or equivalently Exerce Spiritual Acts ch in his own person? Will it not please him, that he have a fore secondary Power of Judicial Approbation or Condemnation of what the Church hath already found and declared to Mi- be Truth or Error, but he must also have a Primary and immediat Power of Cognition of Truth and Error, An- thecedent to any Judgment of the Church thereanent? Will m- it not satisfy him; that he have a Discretive power, where- the by he may not Implicitely Ratify Ecclesiastical Senten- judes, but he must also have a Definitive power of Authori- thetative Decision? And in a word, is it not enough, that s, he have a Cumulative power of Confirming and Strengthe- stining the power & priviledges of the Church, but he must or- also have a privative power, whereby (it he please) he g- may destroy the same?

That the Lord hath had, & to the Worlds end will have a no Church, none who beleieve the Authority of the Holy Scrip- tures can deny or question; And that he hath fixed Discriminative boundaries between his own and the Kingdoms of the Earth (that is, between his Church and other Civil Societies, and their respective Governments) is no less evident: For though both consist of Men, and sometimes be of the same persons; though both have Order and Govern- ment; a power to Exercise the same, & that Derived from God; and the persons invested therewith should be qualifi- ed; and in the Exercise thereof should walk Absolutely by the Rule of the Word; punishing and Censuring after clear Conviction by Confession or probation; And should Ulti- mately aime at the Glory of God, and Good of the people; and for that effect be mutually subservient and useful one to another (in these amongst other things, they agree) Yet they

they are Formally distinct : For they consist of men under distinct Nations and Relations; Civil Society and Policy is founded upon the Light and Law of Nature, Ecclesiastical by Revealed Positive precept ; The one is Common to all men as Men , the other is Peculiar to those who profess the True God ; The Form of the one may be Monarchical , the other not ; The object of the one is Civil , the other is Spiritual ; The nature of the one and Manner of Exercing it , is Magisterial , the Other Ministerial ; The A&ts and Sentences of the one are Corporal , the other Spiritual. The Immediat Rule of Exercing the one is the Lawes of the Land , and the other the Word of God and Ecclesiastical Constitutions agreeable thereunto ; The one is performed in the Name of the Supream Magistrat , the other in the Name of Jesus Christ ; The Immediat End of the one is the Good of the Commonwealth , the other , the Good of Souls . Yet though the Church and Commonwealth of the Jewes , of all others that ever were , did most agree , yet were they Formally distinct : For they had ordinarily distinct Rulers , the Priest and Levits for the one , Judges & King for the other ; They had distinct A&ts Sacrificing , praying &c. In the Church ; Death , Banishment , Confiscation , Imprisonment , Ezra 2: 26. in the State ; They had distinct Objects , the Matters of the Lord and the Matter of the King , 2 Chron. 19: 11. Distinct Lawes , The Ceremonial for the Church , the Judicial for the Commonwealth , and the Moral for both ; They had sometime distinct Members , when these of the One were not admitted to some Priviledges of the Other ; The Form of the State did alter from Judges to Kings , but the Churches was unalterably the same : And they had their distinct Periods of Duration , for the Church continued ( though corrupt ) after the Civil Government was overthrown by the Romans .

And as the Church and State of the Jewes were in these things

things distinct, so had they their distinct Governments, and Judicatories for Exercing the same Respectively; For Ex. 24: 1. there are 70 Elders, who vtr. 14. appear to be vested with Authority, and to have *Aaron* and *Hu*, for their Presidents or Moderators; now these 70 Elders cannot be the 70, who Numb. 11. shared of the Government with *Moses*, for these mentioned Exod. 24. were in Authority, when the *Israelites* were at *Sinai*, whereas the other mentioned Numb. 21. were chosen after they went from *Sinai*; neither can they be any other 70 in Civil Authority, because before the Election of those Numb. 11. *Moses* was alone in the Government. Again Deut. 17. there are distinct causes, viz. Blood, & Blood plea and plea, which were Civill, & Stroake & Stroake, which (whether it was Leprosy) belonged to the Priests to Judge of; Lev. 13:3. Distinct Rulers. viz. the Priests the Levites, and the Judge, who v. 11. are distinguished by the disjunctive particle Or; Distinct Acts of telling (or exponing) the Sentence of the Law, & of telling Judgment v. 10, 11. & distinct Penalties, of Death, and putting the Evill from Israel, v. 12. Further in 1 Chr. 23:4. Ye will find 6000 of the Levites who were Officers and Judges, which must needs have been in Ecclesiastical affairs, because, 1 Chron. 28:1. there were Princes of Tribes, Captains of Thousands, Hundreds, Stewarts and Officers, for Civil affairs. And, 2 Chron. 19:8. &c. there are Church Officers, Priests, Levites, chief of the Fathers; there are distinct Matters, the Matters of the Lord, and the Matters of the King. Ver. 11. There are distinct Acts or Sentences, for Warning not to trespass is more proper to Ecclesiastical than Civil Persons; And there are distinct Moderators or Presidents, Amariah is over you for the Matters of the Lord, and Zebadiah for the Matters of the King. Now what should all this mean, viz. Distinct causes, and Persons set over them to Judge them respectively, and what meaneth these distinct Acts, Sentences and Penalties, if not to hold out the Distinction

ction of Government, and of Judicatories respectively, as  
exercising the same? Yea what was in the Old Testament  
we may know by what we read in the New, for Matth. 21  
ver. 23. and 27: ver. 1. and 26: v. 3, 57, 59. Act 4: v. 5.  
6, 25. and 5: v. 21, 27. there are *Assemblies & Coun-*  
*cils*, which must needs be Ecclesiastical: not only be-  
cause they consisted of Ecclesiastical persons, the *High* *Priest*, *Chief Priests* and *Elders of the People* cognosced of  
Ecclesiastical Causes, the *life*, *Doctrine* and *Authority* of  
*Christ* and his *Apostles*; and past Ecclesiastical Senten-  
ces about preaching in the Name of Christ, *Act. 4*, and 5.  
But also because (the *Jewes* being subdued) the Supreme  
civil Government was taken out of their hands, and  
little left them but the Ecclesiastical. And if at any time,  
in the Old Testament, the same persons were members  
of both Judicatories, it was under distinct Notions and  
considerations, as Ecclesiastical in the one, and Civil in  
the Other; As now the Ruling Elder, under several  
Considerations and Capacities, may be a member of an  
Ecclesiastical and Civil Judicatory. It is true that the  
High Priests and some Kings had great hand in both Ci-  
vil & Ecclesiastical affairs, but Extraordinary, and (may  
be) Typicall instances are not an Ordinary and Universa-  
Rule; And it may be also, that in the New Testament  
these Councils meddled in Civil Affairs, for Matth. 27:  
ver. 1. they *take counsel against Jesus to put him to death*, but  
that was by Corrupt Abuse of their Power, which crept  
in, in the declining State of the Church, and when the Ci-  
Civil Government was taken from them by strangers, or so  
when, wanting a Magistrat, they took more upon them  
than at another time; for it was not so from the begin-  
ning, and was by the like Corrupt and Extravagant A-  
buse, as now the *High Commission* (if it be an Ecclesiastical  
Courr) doth Scourge, Stigmatize, Fine and Banish, or con-  
the P elars now as Members of Parliament, Council, and que-  
*Session*, make themselves Judges of Blood, Pleas, &c. And offi-  
as this

stive; as this was the Manner & Difference of the Jewish  
Church and State under the Old Testament, so under the  
New Testament, there is by Divine Institution, a Formal  
and Specifical Difference, between the Government of  
the Church and Common-wealth: For ye will not only  
be find Office-bearers Given unto, and Set in the Church.  
*High Rom. 12: ver. 8. 1 Cor. 12: ver. 28. Ephes. 4: ver. 11.* Which  
are as wel Distinct from Office-bearers of the State as  
from the People, for neither Magistrat nor People were  
inten-ever called *Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, &c.* especi-  
ally in the Apostles fence; But also RULERS, distinct  
from the Rulers of the Common-wealth, who *1 Thess. 5:*  
and *ver. 12.* are Over the People, and *Hebr. 13: ver. 17.* Rule over  
them. Now these Rulers cannot be the Magistrat, for in  
none of the places doth the Apostle Intend or Mention  
him. Besides, at that time there was not a Christian Magi-  
strat to Rule the State, and how should the Rule of the  
Church be committed to a Pagan? And *1 Tim. 5: ver. 17.*  
He that Labours in Word and Doctrine, seemeth to have  
the more Honour, than He who Ruleth, which, if either Ma-  
gistrat or Prelate be the Ruler, how they will Relish, &  
(may that the poor preaching Presbyter should be more Ho-  
noured than they, let any man Judge. Here then are Ec-  
clesiastical Rulers, distinct from these of the Common-  
wealth. To these Rulers belongeth the Cognition of Ec-  
clesiastical Offences, in Contradistinction to Civil Causes  
and Judges; *Matt. 18: --- Tell the Church:* Now the  
Civil Magistrat cannot be this Church, where is He ever  
, or termed? Or how will He, (being himself a Heathen)  
hem account another man so: Here then is a Church distinct  
from the Common-wealth; here are Church-Offences  
distinct from Breaches of Civil or Municipall Lawes;  
here is Church-Delation or Complaint distinct from any  
, or complaint to the Magistrat, tell the Church; and conse-  
quently, here is a Church power of Cognition of these  
Offences, distinct from that which resides in the Magistrat,  
this  
C 2  
else.

else it were in vain to tell the Church, and as good or better to tell the Magistrat; And here is a Church-Sentence, *Let hem be unto thee as a Heathen*, which the Magistrat, being then Heathen himself, would never pronounce against, or inflict as a Punishment upon another man. To these Church-Rulers also is committed not only the Power of Order, or Pastorall Administration of Word and Sacraments, but also the Power of Jurisdiction, whether Dogmatical, Dialectical, Critical, or Exusiaistical, and not to the Civil Magistrat; And accordingly Jesus Christ giveth the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven to Peter and not to Cesar *Mat. 16: 19*. Ye will find Church-Assemblies, distinct from Parliaments, Convention of Estates, Senats, &c. (yea when the Magistrat was an Enemy) determining questioned Matters of Faith and Practice, *Act. 15*. The Apostle *Paul* enjoineth the Church of Corinth, and not the Magistrat, both to Excommunicate and Absolve the Incestuous man, *1 Cor. 5: 4, 5.* and *2 Cor. 2: 7, 8*: The same Apostle leaveth Titus, and not the Magistrat to Ordain Elders in Every City. *Tit. 1. v. 5.* and accordingly it is performed by the Presbytery, and not by the Magistrat, *1 Tim. 4: 14*. The Apostle *John* threateneth by Himself, and not by the civil Magistrat to Censure *Diotrepes*, *3 John 10*. And as the Power it self, and the several Acts thereof are Committed to Church-Officers; So to them and not to the Civil Magistrat, are all the Directions given for Regulation of the Exercise thereof, distinct from the Directions given to the Magistrat for Regulation of the affairs of the Common-wealth: and so in the case of Offence, there must be private rebuke before Publick delation, *Mat. 18: 15, 16, 17*. In the case of Publick Scandal, there must be a Rebuking before all, *1 Tim. 5: 20*. In the case of Publick Censure, there must be Notoriety of the Fault *1 Cor. 5: 1.* or sufficient conviction of the Person, by Confession or Probation, *Mat. 18: 15*. In the case of Excommunica-  
tion,

tion, it must be when the Church is gathered together, *1 Cor. 5: 4.* and not (after the Prelatical fashion) in a corner; In the case of Absolution, there must be sufficient evidence of Repentance, *2 Cor. 2: 7.* In the case of Ordination of Ministers, there must be the Election of the People, *Act. 6: 3, 4, 5.* Trial, *1 Tim. 3: 10.* & laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, *1 Tim. 4: 14.* and they must be Fixed to particular flocks, *Tit. 1: 5.* How distinct are these, and all other Directions given to Church-Officers for Regulation thereof, from the directions given to the civill Magistrat for Regulation of the Commonwealth? And the Church Officers, & not the civil Magistrat, are commended or Discommended according as they faithfully or unfaithfully Exerce this Power and follow these Directions: So the *Angel* of the Church of *Ephesus* (which I hope none will say was the Magistrat) is commended for Trying them, which said they were *Apostles* and were not, *Revel. 2: 2.* It was not the Emperor, Senat, &c. that tryed these false *Apostles*, as of late the *Parliament, Council, & High Commission* ejected many Hundreds of faithful Ministers without Trial; The *Angels* of the Churches of *Pergamus* and *Thyatira* are discommended, for tolerating false Doctrine and Corrupt Practice, *v. 11, 15, 20.* so is the Church of *Corinth* blamed for not timely Excommunicating of the Incestuous Person. *Cor. 5.* For the like Omisions which are reproved in these *Angels*, I know them who now deserve a sharper tenure, *sed quod desertur non auferitur.*

From all which, as the Formal and Specifical Difference betwixt the Power & Government of Church and Commonwealth is abundantly evident; So Jesus Christ Himself, & not the civil Magistrat, is the *Author & Foundation* of Church-Power and Government; Than which here can be nothing more clear to them, who do not wilfully shut their own eyes, or whom the God of this world hath not blinded: For, besids that Himself telleth us

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that He hath received all Power and Judgement from the Father, *Mat. 28. ver. 18. John. 5. ver. 22.* and *John* beareth him that Testimony. *John. 3. ver. 35.* And who should derive Power to others, but He who received it for that end? Let us consider his Name and Relation to the Church; In what Relation he standeth to the Commonwealth or civil Magistrat, I do not here enquire, but the Apostle tells us, that *He*, and not the civil Magistrat, is Head of the Church. *Ephes. 1:22. and 5:23.* &c, as such, he doth not only Mystically communicat inward Grace to the members, but Oeconomically derive Power and Direction for the Outward Regulation of the whole body. How then can the Magistrat be Head of the Church, or supream Governor in all causes Ecclesiastical? Must the Church have two Heads, or a Head above a Head? Why may not a Church Officer or Officers, as wel claim (with the Pope) to be Head of the Common-wealth? Will they shew us a Warrant from Scripture or Reason for the one, which will not as strongly plead for the other? Well then, let Christ be still Head of the Church. And as such, Ye will find *Him*, and not the civil Magistrat, Instituting all Church-Ordinances for Administration of Word and Sacraments, *Mat. 28:19. 1 Cor. 11:23.* for Excommunication and Absolution, *Matt. 18:17, 18.* and all other Acts of Government and Discipline: Ye will find *Him*, and not the civil Magistrat Instituting Church Offices; *He* it is who gave, *Ephes. 4: 11.* and set in the Church, *1 Cor. 12: v. 28.* Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Teachers, &c. And who is he that dare alter by addition or diminution? Ye will find *Him*, and not the civil Magistrat, Authorizing these Officers to Exerce the Several Acts of the Power of Order and Jurisdiction, *Mat. 28:19.* Ye will find *Him*, & not the civil Magistrat Furnishing these Church-Officers, with Gifts and Graces for their work; as none goeth here upon their own Expences, so can any Magistrat breath the Holy Ghost, as

Christ

Christ did upon his Apostles? *Job. 20: 22.* In His Name, and not in name of the Magistrate, must they performe all Church-Acts; they must Assemble, *Mat. 18: 20.* Baptise, *Mat. 28: 19.* Excommunicat, *1 Cor. 5. ver. 4.* and do all in His Name: *He*, and not the Magistrat, maketh Lawes Absolutely and Primarily oblieging to the Church and Church Officers, and therefore is *He* called the *Lawgiver*, *Isai. 33: 22.* *Iam. 4: 12.* *He*, and not the civil Magistrat, will call Church-Rulers to their final Account; An Account they must give, *Hebr. 13: 17.* & to whom but to Him that gave them Commission, and is Judge? *Isai. 33: 22.* And in recognition of all this, the Apostle *Paul* acknowledgeth that the Lord Jesus, and not the civil Magistrat, *Giveth Ministerial Power and Authority*, *2 Cor. 10: 8.* and *2 Cor. 13: 10.* And because of this, they are called the *Ministers of Christ*, *1 Cor. 4: 1.* and *Ambassadors for Christ*, *2 Cor. 5: 20.* and not *of*, or *for* the Magistrat, as now the King termeth the Prelats *Our Bishops*: *His Servants* they are, & therefore should not be Pleasers of Man, nor of the Magistrat, *Gal. 1: 10.* as they ought to be, if he gave them Commission: If the Magistrat, *as such*, be Head of the Church, and Fountain of Church Power and Government, I would gladly know, how or whence the Apostles, their Successors and others in the Ministry, had power to Teach or Govern the Church, when there was no Christian Magistrat to derive Power to them? Or whether they had any Power at all, or were but *Usurpers*? Or what the Church shall do for Power, when the Magistrat is Heathen, Antichristian, or a Woman, Child, a Fool, a Tyrant, or Heretick, &c. Shall the Church all this time want a Head? Or shall the Body of Christ, have a Pagan Head? Shall a Woman, who must not speak in the Church, be Head of the Church? shall a child or Idiot, who cannot Govern themselves, have the External Regulation of the Church? Or shall Cruel Tyrants, who oppres or destroy the Commonwealth,

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wealth, and Bodies of men, have the Regulation of the Church, & of the Souls of men? We may then go to the Pope, the Turk, the wild Indian-Infidels and Savages, for a Head to the Church before She want; for whatever belongeth to one man, as a Magistrat, belongeth to all Magistrats: But we will hold us content with the Head, *Jesus Christ*, which the Father hath given us.

Now from this, that Church-Power and Government are thus distinct from the Civil, and that Jesus Christ and not the Magistrat, is the Author and Fountain thereof, it evidently followeth, that it is not *Subordinat* to the Magistrat. It is true, that the Magistrat hath much Power Objectively Ecclesiasticall, and that Church Officers, as *Subjects*, are subject to him; yet Ecclesiastical Power it self, is not Properly Subordinat to the Civil. This will the more appear, not only because it is not Derived from the Magistrat, as the Head or Fountain thereof, nor is Exerced in his Name, but also if we consider, that Proper Subordination, is only in things flowing from the same Fountain, & of the same Nature, whereas civil and Ecclesiasticall Powers are neither from the same Immediat Fountain (if the one be from *Iehovah* Essentially considered, and as great Lord Creator and Gubernator of the World, the other from the Lord *Redeemer*, Head and King of his Church) nor yet are they of the same, but different Natures, as is said before: Again, if it were properly Subordinat to the civil Power, then the Magistrat himself, might Exerce all Ecclesiasticall Acts, in the Administration of Word and Sacraments, as well as of Jurisdiction; for as no reason can be adduced why *He* may Institute or Alter Church Government or Officers; or Exerce the External Regulation thereof, which will not by parity of strength inferre his Exercing *Acts of Order*; So, every Superior Power including all the Inferior. *He* may as well Exerce all Ecclesiastical Power, as civil, if the One be *Subordinat* to the Other: And further, the Magi-

Magistrat himself, as a Christian, is but a Member of the Church, and Subject to Church-Government and Discipline, though it should not be practised, except for most weighty Causes, in great necessity, and with singular Prudence, and all due Respect and Reverence to Civil Authority, and the Person therewith vested: and accordingly many Magistrats have been censured: Yea in some cases, as if the Magistrat should unjustly forbid to Preach, Baptise, Ordain, Deprive, Excommunicat &c. the Church may Exerce Church Power without and against His consent, which She could not do, if it were Subordinat to him. I know there are many clamours of the Absurdity and Inconsistency of two Collateral and Co-Ordinat Supream Powers and Governments in one Kingdom; And indeed that Absurdity and Inconsistency may hold true, of two Supream Collaterall and Co-Ordinat Powers *eiusdem Generis*, but not in this case where they are *diversi generis*: Yea of their own Natures, they are so far from being hurtful, that being rightly managed, they are singulariy helpfull to one another: Neither can these two Powers and Governments in a Land, import now under the New Testament greater absurdity and Inconsistency, than under the Old, when the Jewes had their Ecclesiastical *Sanedrim*, as well as civil Courts for the affairs of the Common-wealth. Hence also it followeth, that as Ecclesiastical Power is not Subject to the civil; So, in matters Ecclesiastical, there should be no *Appellation* from the Church to the civil Magistrat: For though when Church Judicatories, without their sphere, meddle in civil Causes *as such*, or, for Ecclesiastical offences, inflict civil Punishments, they may be Declined as Judges Incompetent in the one case, & complaint of an unjust or *Heterogeneous Sentence* is lawful in the other; & though the Magistrat, before He add his Ratification, may require a Reason of Ecclesiastical proceedings, or, in case of an unjust Sentence, may desire

the Church to consider the matter again; & the Church is bound thus to give a Reason, or Consider the matter, especially in a degenerat or declining time of the Church, when more is permitted to the Faithful Magistrat, than otherwise; Yet there can be no Appellation from the Church to the Magistrat in Ecclesiastical causes & Sentences: Not only because all Appellations are from the Inferior to the Superior in *Eodem genere*, but the Church and State are not such, as is cleared before; but also because the Church is indued with Compleat Power of Cognoscing & Final determining Ecclesiastical affairs without dependance upon the State, and these Determinations being Just, the Lord hath promised to Ratify, **Mat. 18: 18.** And the Magistrat having no Formal Church Power, cannot pronounce Ecclesiastical Sentence, or make Redress by Himself, and so the Appellation is in vain. *Pauls Appealing to Cesar, Act. 25: 11.* will not help this weak cause; For He did not appeal in an Ecclesiastical cause, from an Ecclesiastical Court, to a Court of another Nature, but in a matter of alleged Sedition, from *Festus* an Inferior Magistrat to *Cesar* the Supream. Neither is the Instance of *Jeremy* stronger than the former (*Ier. 26: 8,9. &c.*) for there is no mention of His appealing from the Priests to the Magistrat, but of his Apology before the Princes, who came to hear the matter, and their Voluntary delivering him from the Uniust persecution of the Priests and Prophets, who were not competent Judges of Life and Death. Neither is the Exception of the Difference betwixt a Heathen and Chritian Magistrat more Valid in this matter; for (besids all that is before said) in the Old Testament, the Government of the Church was committed to Church-Officers, even when the Magistrat was Religious, and why not in the New? The Government of the Church is not committed to them, because, the Magistrat is Heathen, or upon Temporary, but upon other Moral and Immutable grounds,

grounds, and therefore should not be taken from them when he becometh Christian: It is sure, that the Church had power given unto Her to Govern Herself, when the Magistrat was Heathen, now when and where is that Power Repealed? If Church Government belong to the Christian Magistrat, then it is either *as Magistrat* or *as Christian*, if *as Magistrat* or *as Christian*, then (according to the known maxime) it belongeth to *Every Magistrat*, and so to the Heathen, & to *Every Christian*, both which are false: Was the Magistrat no Magistrat or In-compleat, when (being Heathen) he did not meddle with Church Government? Or did the Church Usurp and Rob the Heathen Magistrat of that Power, in the Apostles dayes, & 2 or 300 years after? Shall the Church, by the promise of *Nursing Fathers*, have less Power and Priviledge, or be in worse Condition, by a Christian than Heathen Magistrat? And how vain is the Distinc-tion of Outward Regulation of the Church, and Inward, (for that must be the other terme) for the Inward Re-gulation thereof belongs incontrovertibly to Jesus Christ, and if the Magistrat hath the Outward, what is left to the Church? These things, which, had they been for-mally digested, would have been more clear and con-vincing, are only thus confusedly and abruptly hinted: nor should I have said so much, if (besids the Erastian Spi-rit, which more than ever doth now rage) some Parliamentary and Council Expressions, and agreeable practices, had not given occasion. Whether it be Pri-mitive or not, let the Reader Judge, but sure I am, *the Kings Government of the Church and State; Charles, &c. Supream Governoour in all causes as well Ecclesiastical as Civil; The Bishops serving the King in the Church, is neither Scriptural nor Safe Dialect.* Him they may serve, and Whe-ther or How, Time will tell; but well know I, whom they do not serve in the Church; And indeed it is pro-per, that they who are there, only by the will of Man, should

should only serve Man. His Commissioners they are  
and accordingly Sharp hath deposed some Ministers &  
*Vertue of the Power which he bath from his Majesty*, and there  
fore they can expect no greater Assistance, Blessing or Re-  
ward than he can give; But yet there is a greater to whom  
they must give an Account.

Having (beyond my first intention) detained Thee  
longer, than perhaps was Necessary, or will be Profi-  
table or Pleasant, Thou may'st now speak with the De-  
duction, which is of age, and able to answer for it self,  
if according to the Patience, Learning and Justice of  
many, thou do not Refute and condemn before thou  
know it, or brandish big words, as he who upon a Co-  
ronation day, offereth duel to all who question the Kings  
Right, when he knoweth, that (for Major Vis) none  
dare appear in the contrary. But in the passing take a  
word of the *National Covenant*, the *Solemn League and Co-  
ovenant*, and *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement  
unto Duties*, that at one view, thou may'st see *Scotlands*  
Engagements and Breaches, the Faithfulness of many,  
and flood of Sin and Suffering that hath overflowed the  
Land: Here is the *Terminus a Quo & ad quem* of our Back-  
sliding, whereof, though the most skilled Artist cannot  
pourtray to the life the whole body (the form is so mon-  
struous and Complexion so strange) he may well darkly  
represent some Lineaments of fingers and toes, that the  
reader may know *Ex ungue leonem*; yet the Author hath  
nervously asserted the Truth, & drawn matters of Fact,  
with such True Colours, that he can only be accused  
for a Picture fairer than the live face of many Persons and  
Actions. To winde up all, be not discouraged upon  
the one hand, nor insult upon the other, by the Death of  
many Mighty men of God, Co workers & Eye-witnes-  
ses of his Work, within these few years past, and the  
stripling stature of many survivors, who have not attained  
unto the dayes of the years of the life of their Fathers,  
and

and (being but of yesterday) can know little of the Lords ancient kindness to the Land, except what their Fathers have told them: For as he hath reserved a numerous remnant of Holy, Learned, and Faithful men, a rich cluster wherein there is a blessing, & we have reason to bless Him, who gave not our Church dry breasts and a miscarrying womb; so he can make the barren bear seven, & become a Joyful mother of many Children, and as he hath work for them, will raise up both Shepherds and Principal men. It is true, alas! there is grown up a most degenerat Offspring of all Qualities, some whereof (& not the meanest) being as profane as *Machiavel*, who teacheth Rulers to keep promise and Oath no longer, than with pretended advantage they can break, and that it is a prejudice to be Really Religious, but not so honest as He, who notwithstanding affirmed a Necessity of *Seeming* to be Religious, which they are not, account no man to be a Man, who, by Whoring, Swearing, Drinking and Spending all or more than they have, do not class themselves into their new Profane Orders, and become as *Cartesian* in their Religion, by Atheistical doubttings and disputings about God, the Holy Scripture, Heaven, Hell, &c. as others are in their Philosophy. But there is an Advantage, that by Discovery, and distinguishing betwixt the precious and the vile, the Lord hath made this Defection contribute more to the Facility (as well as Necessity) of a future Purgation of the Church, than all her Judicatures could ever effectuat without it. And further, as he hath frustrated many chief Authors & Promotors thereof of their Hope and Designs; and called Nobles, Prelats and others to an account before they well tasted the expected sweetness, or were warm in their Places or Promotions; So though *Herod* and *Pilat* may agree against the Innocent, yet where men are like *Sams*-*sons* foxes, only tied together by the tail of common corrupt Principles, whilst their heads, of SelfInterest and

and designs look different wayes, what such a Position, Conjunction & Aspect prognosticateth, let Scripture, Reason and Experience be consulted and they will tell. Let us not, in the mean time, mistake Gods Work Wayes, Doings nor Intentions, neither be envious at evil doers, not yet be Curious nor Anxious about futuritions, much less limit the Holy one to Means, Method or Time, but bear the Indignation of the Lord because we have sinned, till he plead our cause, waiting upon him who is God of Judgment, and waiteth that he may be gracious, and in patience possess our souls, for (though we do not) he knoweth his own thoughts toward us, it may be they are thoughts of peace, and not of evil, to give an expected end, and that (when he hath ripened Deliverance) he will bring us forth to the Light, and we shall behold his Righteousness. It is a crime of the highest nature with our Rulers, to complaior or supplicat for redress, Others are either of deaf ears or feeble hands and cannot help, and seeing we can do no more for the Cause and Covenant of God, for our Mother Church, the Land, Our selves, Our Brethren and Posterity, let us open our cause to him who tryeth the Righteous. *O Lrd Forgive, O Lord hearken and do. Deferre not for thine own sake, O my God; For thy City and thy People are called by thy Name, AMEN.*

The Testimony of  
**MR JAMES WOOD,**  
Minister of the Gospel, and Professor of  
Theology in the University of St Andrews,  
for Presbyterial Government.

**I**M **R**JAMES WOOD, being now shortly (by appearance) to render up my Spirit to the Lord, find my self obliged to leave a word behind me, for my just Vindication before the World. It hath been said of me, that I have (in word at least) resiled from my wonted Zeal for Presbyterial Government, expressing my self concerning it, as if it were a matter not to be accounted of, and that no man should trouble himself in the matter and practice thereof. It is true, being under sickness, I have sometime said, I was taken up with weightier matters, than any external ordinance, & what wonder? Being under such wrestling anent my interest in Jesus Christ, which is a matter of far greater concernment. Surely any Christian in this Church that knows me, will judge there is a wrong done to me: For since the day that the

Lora

Lord convinced my heart (which was by a strong hand) that it  
was the ordinance of God, appointed by Jesus Christ, for gover-  
ning and ordering his visible Church, I never had the least change  
of thought, concerning the necessity of it, nor of the necessity of  
the use of it. And now I declare before God and the World, that  
I account so of it still: And that however there be some more preci-  
ous ordinances, yet that this is so precious, that a true Christian  
is obliged to lay down his life for the profession thereof, if the Lord  
shall see it meet to put him to the trial. And for my self, if I were  
to live, I would account it my glory, to seal this word of my testi-  
mony with my blood. Of this my declaration, I take God,  
Angels and Men to be my witnesses, and have subscribed this  
presente with my hand, the 2. of March 1664. about 7. hours af-  
ternoon, before Mr William Tullida<sup>t</sup> and Mr John Carstairs,  
my Brother in Law, and John Pitcarn writer therof.

MR JAMES WOOD.

As the Matter of this Testimony is very considerable,  
especially from so Great a man as Mr Wood was; So  
the occasion and consequents thereof are very observable,  
which were thus: Mr Sharp, having formerly been inti-  
mately familiar with Mr Wood, came to visite him under  
his Sickness (whereunto Sharps Apostacy had no small  
accession) and thereafter did falsely spread a report by  
word and writ, that Mr Wood had resiled from Presby-  
terial Government. Whereof when Mr Wood was in-  
formed, he was of new grievously affected and afflicted;  
thereupon, for his own Vindication, left this Testimo-  
ny behind him. But Mr Sharp finding himself thereby  
made a publick lyar, (making lies still his refuge) pur-  
sueth Mr Wood being dead, as well as alive, with a new  
slander, alleaging his Testimony to be Fictitious, or  
Extorted from him, when, through distemper of his sick-  
ness, he knew not what he did; and thereupon caused  
summond the Witnesses, the Writer and some other  
persons before the High Commission: But the contrary of  
this was and is most Evident, not only because this Te-  
stimony

stimony was written and subscribed a considerable number of dayes before his Death , during which interval (as before ) he was so composed , that he spake many gracious words about his own soul , Ordered his Civil affairs , and a famous Phyfician was not without hopes of his Recovery , But also because , hearing that some of his faithful Brethren and Co - Presbyters were in the town , he sent once and again for them , & before them , and some other Ministers at other times , purged himself of that unjust Imputation , and did bear witness for Presbyterian Government more fully and freely than is in the written Testimony , and some time thereafter , of his own accord did call for the Writer , and (there being none other present in the chamber at the beginning) did indite and cause him writ the same as it now is , without any Alteration ; as also in a Letter written some considerable time before ( inviting Mr Castairs to come and visite him) he had made mention of the Backsliding , Trials and Sufferings of the times , and expressed his desire to Live , that he might give a more free Testimony to the Truth . Notwithstanding all which , Mr Sharp ( obstructing the reading of a Letter written by Mr Carstairs to the Chancelor , containing & clearing the matter of fact) persisted with great Attestations before the High Commission , in his former false allegiance , and Slandering , both of the Dead and the Living , and caused imprison the Writer and one of the witnesses , and forced the other ( whom , for his eminent Parts , Holiness and Faithfulness , he most pursued ) to a Retirement for his own safety . *What shall be given to Thee O Sharp ! Or what shall be done to Thee ; Ofalse Tongue ? Sharp arrows of the Mighty , Coals of Juniper .*

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# The National Covenant, O R

*The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland, subscribed at first by the Kings Majesty & his Houshold, in theyearre 1580. Thereafter, by persons of all rankes, in the yeare 1581. By ordinance of the Lords of the Secret Councel, and Acts of the general Assembly. Subscribed againe by all sorts of Persons in the Yeare 1590. By a new Ordinance of Council, at the desire of the General Assembly: With a General Band for maintenance of the true Religion and the Kings Person. And now subscribed in the Year 1638. By Vs, Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgessses, Ministers, & Commons, then under subscribing: Together, with our resolution and promises for the causes after specified, To maintaine the said true Religion, and the Kings Majesty, according to the Confession foresaid, And Acts of Parliament. And now, upon the Supplication of the General Assembly to His Majesty's high Commissioner, and the Lords of his Majesty's Honorable Privy Council, subscribed again in the Year 1639. by Ordinance of Council, and act of General Assembly. The Tenor wherof here followeth.*

**W**E All, and every one of Us underwritten, Protest, that, after long and due Examination of our owne Consciences, in matters of true and false Religion. We are now throughly resolved of the Truth, by the Word and Spirit of God; and therefore we believe with our hearts, confess with our mouths, subscribe with our hands, and constantly affirme

affirme before God , and the whole World, that this one-  
ly is the true Christian Faith and Religion , pleasing God,  
and bringing Salvation to man , which now is by the mer-  
cy of God revealed to the world , by the preaching of the  
blessed Evangel , and received, believed, and defended,  
by many and sundry notable Kirks and Realmes, but chief-  
ly by the *Kirk of Scotland*, the *Kings Majesty*, & three estates  
of this Realme , as Gods eternal Truth , and onely ground  
of our Salvation: As more particularly is expressed in the  
Confession of our Faith , stablished , and publickly con-  
firmed by sundry Acts of Parliament , and now of a long  
time hath beene openly professed by the Kings Majesty ,  
and whole body of this Realme both in Burgh and Land.  
To the which Confession and forme of Religion, wee wil-  
lingly agree in our consciences in all points, as unto Gods  
undoubted Truth and Verity , grounded onely upon his  
written Word. And therefore , we abhorre and detest all  
contrary Religion . and Doctrine: But chiefly , all kinde  
of Papistry , in general and particular heads , even as they  
are now damned and confuted by the *Word of God* , & *Kirk*  
*of Scotland*: But in special we detest and refuse the usurped  
authority of that Roman Antichrist upon the Scriptures of  
God , upon the Kirk , the civil Magistrate, and conscience  
of men , All his tyrannous lawes made upon indifferent  
things against our Christian liberty , His erroneous Doc-  
trine against the sufficiency of the written Word , the  
perfection of the Law, the offices of Christ , and his bles-  
sed Evangel. His corrupted Doctrine concerning origina-  
fin , our natural inability and rebellion to Gods Law , our  
Justification by faith only , our imperfect Sanctification &  
obedience to the Law , the nature, number and use of the  
Holy Sacraments. His five bastard Sacraments , with all  
his Rites, Ceremonies , and false Doctrine added to the  
ministratiōn of the true Sacraments, without the Word of  
God. His cruel judgement against Infants departing with-  
out the Sacrement : His absolute necessity of Baptisme : his  
blas-

blasphemous opinion of Transubstantiation, or real presence of Christ's body in the Elements, and receiving of the same by the wicked, or bodies of men. His dispensations with solemn Oathes, Perjuries, and degrees of Marriage forbidden in the Word: His cruelty against the Innocent divorced: his devilish Mass: his blasphemous Priesthood: profane Sacrifice for the sinnes of the dead and the quick: his Canonization of men, calling upon Angels or Saints departed, worshipping of Imagery, Relicks, and Crosses, dedicating of Kirks, Altars, Dayes, Vowes to creatures; his Purgatory, Prayers for the dead, praying or speaking in a strange language, with his Processions & blasphemous Letany, and multitude of Advocates or Mediators: his manifold Orders, Auricular Confession: his desperate and uncertain Repentance; his general and doubtsome Faith, his satisfactions of men for their sinnes: his Justification by works, *opus operatum*, works of Supererogation, Merits, Pardons, Peregrinations, and Stations: his holy water, baptising of Bells, conjuring of Spirits, crossing, fanning, anointing, conjuring, hallowing of Gods good creatures, with the superstitious opinion joyned therewith: his Wordly Monarchy, and wicked Hierarchy: his three solemn vowes, with all his shavelings of sundry sorts, his erroneous and bloudy decrees made at Trent, with all the subscribers and approvers of that cruel & bloudy Band, conjured against the Kirk of God: and finaliy, we detest all his vain Allegories, Rites, Signes and Traditions, brought into the Kirk, without or against the Word of God, and Doctrine of this true reformed Kirk, to the which we joyne our selves willingly, in Doctrine, Faith, Religion, Discipline, and use of the Holy Sacraments, as lively members of the same, in Christ our Head: promising and swearing by the Great name of the Lord our God, that we shall continue in the obedience of the Doctrine and Discipline of this Kirk, and shall defend the same according to our vocation and Power, all the dayes of our lives,

under the pains contained in the Law; and danger both of Body and Soul, in the day of Gods fearful Judgment; And seeing that many are stirred up by Sathan, and that Roman Antichrist, to promise, swere, subscribe, and for a time use the holy Sacraments in the Kirk deceitfully againt their own Consciences, minding thereby, first under the external cloak of Religion, to corrupt & subvert secretly Godtrue Religion within the Kirk, & afterward, when time may serve, to become open enemies and persecutors of the same, under vain hope of the Popes dispensation, devised against the Word of God, to his greater confusion, and their double condemnation in the day of the Lord Jesus.

Wee, therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God and his Kirk, Protest, and call *The Searcher of all hearts* for witness, that Our mindes and hearts, do fully agree with this our *Confession, Promise, Oath and Subscription*, so that Wee are not moved for any worldly respect, but are perswaded onely in our Consciences, through the knowledge and love of Gods true Religion, printed in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, as we shall answer to him in the day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. And because we perceive that the quietness and stability of our Religion and Kirk, doth depend upon the safety & good behaviour of the Kings Majestie, as upon a comfortable Instrument of Gods mercy, granted to this Countrey, for the maintaining of this Kirk, and ministratior of Justice amongt us, we protest and promise with our hearts under the same Oath, Handwrit, and Pains, that we shall defend his Person and Authority, with our goods, bodies and lives, in the defence of Christ his Evangel, Liberties of our Countrey, ministratior of Justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within this Realm, or without, as we desire our God to be a strong and merciful defender to us in the day of our death, and coming of our Lord

Lord Jesus Christ : To whom with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all Honour and Glory Eternally.

Like as many Acts of Parliament not onely in general do abrogate, annul, and rescind all Lawes, Statutes, Acts, Constitutions, Canons, civil or municipal, with all other Ordinances and practique penalties whatsoever, made in prejudice of the true Religion and Professors thereof ; Or, of the true Kirk-discipline, Jurisdiction, and freedome thereof ; Or in favours of Idolatry and Superstition ; Or of the Papistical Kirk : As *Act. 3. Act. 13. Parl. 1. Act 23. Parl. 11. Act 114. Parl. 12. of King James the Sixt.* That Papistry and Superstition may be utterly suppressed according to the intention of the Acts of Parliament repeated in the *5. Act. Parl 20. King James 6.* And to that end they ordain all Priests to be punished by manifold Civil and Ecclesiastical pains, as adversaries to Gods true Religion preached, and by Law established within this Realme, *Act. 24. Parl 11. King James 6.* as common enemies to all Christian government, *Act. 18. Parl 16. King James 6.* as rebels and gaintanders of our Soveraign Lords Authority, *Act. 47 Parl. 3. King James 6.* and as Idolaters. *Act. 104. Parl. 7. King James 6.* but also in particular ( by and attour the Confession of Faith ) do abolish and condemne the the Popes Authority and Jurisdiction out of this Land, and ordain the maintainers thereof to be punished, *Act. 2. Parl 1. Act. 51. Parl. 3. Act 106. parl. 7. Act. 114, parl. 12. King James 6.* do condemne the Popes erroneous doctrine, or any other erroneous doctrine repugnant to any of the Articles of the true and Christian Religion publickly preached, and by Law established in this Realme : And ordaines the spreaders and makers of Books or Libels, or Letters, or writs of that nature to be punished, *Act 46. parl. 3. Act. 106. Parl. 7. Act. 24. parl. 11. King James 6.* do condemne all Baptisme conforme to the Popes Kirk and the Idolatry of the Masse, and ordaines all sayers, wilful hearers, and concealers of the Masse, the maintainers and reseiters of

Priests , Jesuires , traffiquing Papists , to be punished without any exception or restriction, *Act. 5. parl. 1. Act. 120. parl. 12. Act. 164. parl. 13. Act. 193 parl. 14. Act. 1. parl. 19. Act. 5. parl. 20.* *K. James 6.* do condemne all erroneous books and writes containing erroneous doctrine against the Religion presently professed , or containing superstitious Rites and Ceremonies Papistical , whereby the people are greatly abused , and ordaines the home-bringers of them to be punished , *Act 25. parl. 11 K. James 6.* do condemne the monuments and dregs of by-gone Idolatry ; as going to the Crosses , observing the Festival dayes of Saints , and such other superstitious and Papistical Rites , to the dis-honour of God , contempt of true Religion , and fostering of great error among the people , and ordaines the users of them to be punished for the second fault as Idolaters , *Act. 104. parl. 7. King James 6.*

Like as many Acts of Parliament are conceived for maintenance of Gods true and Christian Religion , and the purity thereof in Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church of God , the liberty & freedom thereof , in her National , Synodical Assemblies , Presbyteries , Sessions , Policy , Discipline and Jurisdiction thereof , as that purity of Religion and liberty of the Church was used , professed , exercised , preached and confessed according to the reformation of Religion in this Realm . As for instance , *The 99. Act. parl. 7. Act. 23. Parl. 11. Act. 114. parl. 12. Act. 160. parl. 13 of King James 6. ratified by the 4. Act. of K Charles.* So that the 6 *Act. parl. 1. &c 68. Act parl. 6. of K. James 6.* in the Yeare of God 1579. declares the Ministers of the blessed Evangel , whom God of his mercy had raised up , or hereafter should raise , agreeing with the that then lived in Doctrine , & Administration of the Sacraments , & the People that professed Christ , as he was then offered in the Evangel , & doth communicate with the Holy Sacramants , (as in the reformed Kirks of this Realm they were publickly administrat ) according to the Confession of Faith , to be the true & Holy Kirk of Christ Jesus

is within this Realm, & decerns & declares all & sundry, who either gainsayes the Word of the Evangel, received & approved, as the heads of the Confession of Faith, professed in Parliament, in the Yeare of God 1560. specified also in the first Parliament, of King James 6, and ratified in this present Parliament, more particularly do specify ; or that refuses the administration of the Holy Sacraments, as they were then ministrated, to be no members of the said Kirk within this Realme, and true Religion, presently professed, so long as they keep themselves so divided from the Society of Christs body : And the subsequent *Act. 69: parl. 6. of King James 6.* declares, That there is none other Face of Kirk, nor other Face of Religion, than was presently at that time, by the favour of G O D established within this Realme, which therefore is ever stiled, *Gods true Religion, Christs true Religion, and Christian Religion, and perfect Religion.* Which by manifold acts of Parliament, all within this Realme are bound to subscribe the articles thereof, the Confession of Faith, to recant all doctrine and errors. repugnant to any of the said Articles, *Act. 4. and 9. parl. 1. Act. 45, 46, 47. parl. 3. Act. 71. parl. 6. Act. 106. parl. 7. Act. 24. parl. 11. Act. 123. parl. 12. Act. 194. and 197. parl. 14. of King James 6.* And all Magistrats, Sherifs, &c. on the one part are ordained to search, apprehend, and punish all contraveeners ; For instance, *Act. 5. parl. 1. Act. 104. parl. 7. Act. 25. parl. 11. King James 6.* And that notwithstanding of the Kings Majestys licences on the contrary, which are discharged and declared to be of no force, in so farre as they tend in any wayes, to the prejudice & hinderance of the execution of the Acts of Parliament against Papists & adversaries of true Religion, *Act. 106. parl. 7. King James 6.* On the other part, in the *47. Act. parl. 3. King James 6.* It is declared and ordained, seeing the cause of Gods true Religion, and his Highness Authority are so joyned, as the hurt of the one is common to both : and that none shall be reputed as loyal

and faithful subjects to our Sovereign Lord, or his Authority, but be punishable as rebels and gainstenders of the same, who shall not give their Confession, and make their profession of the said true Religion, and that they, who after defection, shall give the Confession of their Faith of new, they shall promise to continue therein in time coming, to maintain our Sovereigne Lords Authority, and at the uttermest of their power to fortify, assist, and maintain the true Preachers and Professors of Christ's Evangel, against whatsoever enemies and gainstenders of the same, and namely (against all such and whatsoever Nation, Estate, or degree they be of) that have joyred, and bound themselves, or have assisted, or assists to set forward, and execute the cruel Decrees of Trent, contrary to the Preachers and true Professors of the Word of God, which is repeated word by word in the Article of Pacification at Perth the 23 of February 1572. approved by Parliament the last April 1573 Ratified in Parliament 1587. and related, Act. 123. parl. 12. of King James 6. with this addition, that they are bound to resist all treasonable uproars & hostilities raised against the true Religion, the Kings Majestie, and the true Professors.

Like as all Liedges are bound to maintain the Kings Majestie's Royal Person, and Authority, and authority of Parliaments, without the which neither any lawes or lawfull judicatories can be established, Act. 130. Act. 131 parl. 8. King James 6. and the subjects Liberties, who ought onely to live and be governed by the Kings Lawes, the common Lawes of this Realme allanerly, Act. 48. parl. 3 King James the first, Act. 79. parl. 6. King James the 4. repeated in the Act. 131. parl. 8. King James 6. Which, if they be innovated or prejudged, the commission anent the union of the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England, which is the sole Act. of the 17. parl. of King James 6. declares such confusion would ensue, as this Realme could be no more a free Monarchy, because by the fundamental lawes,

ancient

ancient privileges, offices and liberties of this Kingdome, not onely the Princely Authority of his Majesty's Royal discent hath been these many ages maintained, but also the peoples security of their Lands, livings, rights, offices, liberties, and dignities preserved, and therefore for the preservation of the said true Religion, Lawes, and Liberties of this Kingdome, it is statute by the 8. Act. parl. I. repeated in the 99. Act. parl. 7. ratified in the 23. Act. parl. II. und 114. Act. parl. 12: of King James 5. and 4. Act. of King Charles. That all Kings and Princes at their Coronation ad reception of their Princely Authority, shall make their faithful promise by their solemne Oath in the presence of the eternal God, that, during the whole time of their lives, they shall serve the same Eternal God to the uttermost of their power, according as he hath required in his most Holy Word, contained in the Old and New Testamēntr. And according to the same Word, shall maintain the true Religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his Holy Word, the due and right ministrition of the Sacraments now received and preached within this Realme (according to the Confession of Faith immediately preceeding) and shall abolish and gainstand all false Religion contrary to the same, and shall rule the people committed to their charge, according to the will and command of God, revealed in his foresaid Word, and according to the laudable Lawes and Constitutions received in this Realme, no wayes repugnant to the said will of the Eternal God; and shall procure, to the uttermost of their power, to the Kirk of God, and whole Christian people, true and perfect peace in all time coming: & that they shall be careful to root out of their Empire all Hereticks, and enemies to the true Worship of God, who shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God, of the foresaid crimes, which was also observed by his Majesty, at his Coronation in Edinburgh 1633. as may be seen in the order of the Coronation.

In obedience to the Commandment of God, conforme  
to the practice of the godly in former times, and according  
to the laudable example of our Worthy and Religious Pro-  
genitors. & of many yet living amongst us, which was  
warranted alfo by act of *Council*, commanding a general  
band to be made and subscribed by his Majesty's subjects,  
of all ranks, for two causes: One was, For defendng  
the true Religion, as it was then reformed, and is expres-  
sed in the Confession of Faith abovewritten, and a former  
large Confession established by sundry acts of lawful gene-  
ral assemblies, and of Parliaments, unto which it hath re-  
lation, set down in publick Catechismes, and which had  
been for many years with a blessing from Heaven preached,  
& professed in this Kirk and kingdome, as Gods undoub-  
ted truth, grounded only upon his written Word. The  
other cause was, for maintaining the Kings Majesty, His  
Person, and Estate: The true worship of God, and  
the Kings authority, being so straitly joyned, as that they  
had the same Friends, and common enemies, & did stand  
and fall together. And finally, being convinced in our  
mindes, and confessing with our mouthes, that the pre-  
sent and succeeding generations in this Land, are bound to  
keep the foresaid national Oath and Subscription inviola-  
ble. Wee Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesles,  
Ministers and Commons under subscribing, considering  
divers times before and especially at this time, the danger  
of the true reformed Religion, of the Kings honour, and  
of the publick peace of the Kingdome: By the ma-  
nifold innovations and evils generally contained, and  
particularly mentioned in our late supplications, com-  
plaints, and protestations, Do hereby profess, and be-  
fore God, his Angels, and the World solemnly declare,  
That, with our whole hearts we agree and resolve, all the  
dayes of our life, constantly to adhere unto, and to defend  
the foresaid true Religion, and ( forbearing the practice  
of all novations already introduced in the matter of the  
wor-

worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the  
publicke Government of the Kirk, or civil places and  
power of Kirk men, till they be tryed and allowed in free  
assemblies, and in Parliaments) to labour by all meanes  
awful to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel, as it  
was stablished and professed before the foresaid Novations:  
and because, after due examination, we plainly perceive,  
and undoubtedly believe, that the Innovations and evils  
contained in our Supplications, Complaints, and Prote-  
stations have no warrant of the Word of God, are contra-  
ry to the Articles of the Foresaid Confessions, to the in-  
tention & meaning of the blessed Reformers of Religion in  
this Land, to the above written Acts of Parliament, and  
do sensible tend to the re-establishing of the Popish Reli-  
gion and Tyranny, and to the subversion and ruine of the  
true Reformed Religion, and of our Liberties, Lawes and  
Estates, We also declare, that the Foresaid Confessions  
are to be interpreted, and ought to be understood of the  
Foresaid novations and evils, no lesse than if every one of  
them had been expressed in the Foresaid confessions, and  
that we are obliged to detest and abhorre them amongst  
other particular heads of Papistry abjured therein. And  
therefore from the knowledge and consciences of our duty  
to God, to our King and Countrey, without any worldly  
respect or inducement, so farre as humane infirmity will  
suffer, wishing a further measure of the grace of God for  
this effect, We promise, and swear by the Great Name of  
the Lord our God, to continue in the Profession and Obedience  
of the Foresaid Religion: That we shall defend the  
same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions,  
according to our vocation, and to the uttermost of that  
power that God hath put in our hands, all the dayes of our  
life: and in like manner with the same heart, we declare  
before God and Men, That we have no intention nor de-  
sire to attempt any thing that may turne to the dishonour of  
God, or to the diminution of the Kings greatnesse and au-  
thori-

thority: But on the contrary, we promise and swear, and that we shall, to the uttermost of our power, with all our meanes and lives, stand to the defence of our dread Sovereigne the Kings Majesty, his Person, and Authoritie, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true Religion, Liberties and Lawes of the Kingdome: As also to that mutual defence and assistance, every one of us of another in the same cause of maintaining the true Religion, and our Majestys Authority, with our best counsel, our bodies, Def meanes, and whole power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever. So that whatsoever shall be done to the leavers of us for that cause, shall be taken as done to us all in general, and to every one of us in particular. And that we, Lord, shall neither directly nor indirectly suffer our selves to be divided or withdrawn by whatsoever suggestion, allure, hazard, or terror from this blessed and loyal Conjunction, nor shall cast in any let or impediment, that may stay or hinder any such resolution, as by common consent shall be found to conduce for so good ends. But on the contrary, shall by all lawfull meanes labour to further and promote the same, and if any such dangerous and divisive motion sembe made to us by Word or Writ, We, and every one of us, shall either suppress it, or if need be shall incontinent make the same known, that it may be timeously obviated: neither do we fear the foul aspersions of rebellion, combination, or what else our adversaries from their craft and malice would put upon us, seing what we do is so well warranted, and ariseth from an unfeined desire to maintain the true worship of God, the Majesty of our King, and peace of the Kingdome, for the common happiness of our selves, and the posterity. And because we cannot look for a blessing from God upon our proceedings, except with our Profession and Subscription we joine such a life and conversation, as becometh Christians, who have renewed their Covenant with God; We, therefore, faithfully promise for our selves, our followers, and all other under

we under us, both in publick, in our particular families, and  
in personal carriage, to endeavour to keep our selves within  
the bounds of Christian liberty, and to be good examples  
to others of all Godlines, Sobornes, and Righteous-  
ness, and of every duty we owe to God and Man, And  
that this our Union and Conjunction may be observed with-  
out violation, we call the living God, the Searcher of  
our Hearts to witness, who knoweth this to be our sincere  
Desire, and unfained Resolution, as we shall answer to  
Jesus Christ, in the great day, and under the pain of Gods  
everlasting wrath, and of infamy, and loss of all honour  
and respect in this World. Most humbly beseeching the  
Lord to strengthen us by his holy Spirit for this end, and  
to blesse our desires and proceedings with a happy success,  
that Religion and Righteousnes may flourish in the Land,  
to the glory of God, the honour of the King, and peace and  
comfort of us all. In witness whereof we have subscribed  
all b with our hands all the premisses, &c.

This Article of the Covenant, which was at the first Sub-  
scription, referred to the determination of the General As-  
sembly, being determined, and thereby the 5. Articles of  
Perth, the Government of the Kirk by Bishops, the Civil  
power of kirkmen, upon the reasons & grounds  
contained in the Acts of the General Assembly, declared to  
be unlawful within this Kirk, we subscribe according to  
the determination foresaid.

**A Solemn League and Covenant.**

*For Reformation, and Defence of Religion  
The Honour and Happineſs of the King, and  
Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of Scotland  
England and Ireland.*

WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Communeſſes of all sorts in the Kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one King, and being of one reformed religion, Having before our eyes the gloe of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Honour and Happineſſe Fair the Kings Majefty and his Posterity, and the true publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, whereof every ones private condition is included; And calling to minde the treacherous and bloody Plots, conspiracieſſes, Attempts and Practices of the Enemies of God against the true Religion and Professours thereof in all places, especially in these three Kingdoms, ever ſince the Reformation of Religion, and how much their rage, power and presumption are of late, and at this time increased and exercized; whereof the deplorable estate of the Church of the Kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the Church & Kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland are present and published testimonies: We have now at laſt (after other means Supplication; Remonſtrance, Protestation and Suffering) for the preservation of our ſelves and our Religion from utter ruine and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these Kingdoms in former times, and no example

example of Gods People in other Nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn League and Covenant: Wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do Swear,

1. That we shall sincerely, really & constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, against our common Enemies; The Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches; And shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-government, Directory for publick Worship and Catechizing; That we and our Posterity after us, may, as Brethren, live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us,

2. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church-government by Arch-bishops, Bishops, their Chancellours and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Heresy, Schism, Prophaness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the power of Godliness; Lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; & that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

3. We shall with the same sincerity, reality and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives mutually to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdom; & to preserve and defend the Kings Majesty's Person and Authority.

thority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms; That the World may bear witness with our consciences of our Loyalty and that we have no thoughts or intention to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.

4. We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any faction, or parties amongst the people contrary to this League and Covenant. That they may be brought to publick trial, and receive condigne punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the Supream Judicatories or both Kingdomes respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. And whereas the happiness of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of GOD granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded, and settled by both Parliaments, We shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoyned in a firme Peace and Union to all Posterity, And that justice may be done upon the wilfull Opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent Article.

6. We shall also according to our places and callings in this Common cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; And shall not suffer our selves directly or indirectly by whatsoever combination, perswasion or terrorre, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed Union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our selves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth

concerneth the Glory of God , the good of the King-  
doms , and honour of the King : But shall all the  
dayes of our lives zéalously & constantly continue there-  
in , against all opposition , and promote the same accord-  
ing to our power , against all Lets and Impediments  
whatsoever ; And , what we are not able our selves to sup-  
presse or overcome , we shall reveale and make known ,  
that it may be timely prevented or removed : All which  
we shall do as in the sight of God .

And , because these Kingdoms are guilty of many sins  
and provocations against God , and his Son Jesus Christ ,  
as is too manifest by our present distress and dangers , the  
fruits thereof , We professe and declare before God , and  
the world , unfained desire to be humbled for our own  
sins , and for the sins of these Kingdoms , especially that  
we have not , as we ought , valued the inestimable be-  
nefit of the Gospel , that we have not laboured for the  
purity and power thereof , and that we have not endea-  
voured to receive Christ in our hearts , nor to walk wor-  
thy of him in our lives , which are the causes of other sins  
and transgressions so much abounding amongst us : And  
our true and unfained purpose , desire , and endeavour  
for our selves , and all others under our power & charge ,  
both in publick and in private , in all duties we owe to  
God and man , to amend our lives , and each one to go  
before another in the example of a real Reformation ;  
That the Lord may turn away his wrath , & heavy indig-  
nation , and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in  
truth and Peace . And this Covenant we make in the pre-  
sence of Almighty God the Searcher of all hearts , with  
a true intention to perform the same , As we shall answer  
at that great day , when the secrets of all hearts shall be dis-  
closed ; Most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen  
us by his Holy Spirit for this end , and to bless our de-  
sires , and proceedings with such success , as may be deli-  
verance and safety to his people , and encouragement to

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other Christian Churches groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of Antichristian Tyranny, or to joyn in the same or like Association and Covenant, To the Glory of God, the enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian Kingdoms, and Commonwealths.

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**A Solemn Acknowledgement of publick  
Sins and Breaches of the Covenant;**

A N D

*A Solemn Engagement to all the Duties  
contained therein, namely those which do in a more  
special way relate unto the dangers of these times :  
Anno 1648.*

WE Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts within this Kingdom, by the good hand of God upon us, taking into serious consideration the many sad afflictions & deep distresses, wherewith we have been exercised for a long time past, and that the Land, after it hath been sore wasted with the Sword and Pestilence, and threatened with Famine, and that shame & contempt hath been poured out from the Lord against many thousands of our Nation, who did in a sinful way make War upon the Kingdom of *England*, contrary to the Testimony of his Servants and desires of his People, and that the remnant of that Army returning to this Land, have spoiled and oppressed many of our Brethren, and that the Malignant party is still numerous, and retaining their former principles, wait for an opportunity to raise a new and dangerous War, not only unto the rending of the bowels of this Kingdom, but unto the dividing of us from *England*, and

and overturning of the work of God in all the three Kingdoms : And considering also that a cloud of calamities doth still hang over our heads , and threaten us with sad things to come , We cannot but look upon these things as from the Lord , who is righteous in all his wayes , feeding us with the bread of tears , & making us to drink the waters of affliction , until we be taught to know how evil and bitter a thing it is to depart away from him ; by breaking the Oath and Covenant which we have made with him , and that we may be humbled before him by confessing our sin , and forsaking the evil of our way .

Therefore being pressed with so great necessities and straits , and warranted by the word of God , and having the example of Gods people of old , who in the time of their troubles , and when they were to seek delivery and a right way for themselves , that the Lord might be with them to prosper them , did humble themselves before him , and make a free and particular confession of the sins of their Princes , their Rulers , their Captains , their Priests and their people , and did engage themselves to do no more so , but to reform their wayes and be stedfast in his Covenant , And rememboring the practice of our predecessors in the year 1596. Wherein the General Assembly , and all the Kirk Judicatories , with the concurrence of many of the Nobility , Gentry , and Burgesses , did with many tears acknowledge before God the breach of the National Covenant , and engaged themselves to a Reformation , even as our predecessors and theirs had before done in the General Assembly and convention of Estates in the year 1567. And perceiving that this duty , when gone about out of conscience and in sincerity , hath alwayes been attended with a reviving out of troubles , and with a blessing and success from Heaven ; We do humbly and sincerely in his sight , who is the searcher of hearts , acknowledge the many sins and great transgressions

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of the Land, We have done wickedly, our Kings, our Princes, our Nobles, our Judges, our Officers, our Teachers, and our People: Albeit the Lord hath long and clearly spoken unto us, we have not hearkened to his voice; Albeit he hath followed us with tender mercies, we have not been allured to wait upon him and walk in his way; And though he hath stricken us, yet we have not grieved; Nay though he hath stricken us, we have refused to receive correction; We have not remembred to render unto the Lord according to his goodness, and according to our own vowes & promises, but have gone away backward by a continued course of backsliding, and have broken all the Articles of that solemn League and Covenant which we swore before God, Angels and men.

Albeit there be in the land many of all ranks, who be for a Testimony unto the Truth, and for a name of joy and praise unto the Lord, by living godly, studying to keep their garments pure, and being stedfast in the Covenant and Cause of God; Yet we have reason to acknowledge that most of us have not endeavoured with that reality, sincerity and constancy, that did become us, to preserve the work of Reformation in the Kirk of Scotland; Many have satisfied themselves with the purity of the Ordinances neglecting the power thereof; Yea, some have turned aside to crooked wayes destructive to both. The prophane, loose and insolent carriage of many in our Armies, who went to the Assistance of our Brethren in England, And the tamperings and unstraight dealing of some of our Commissioners, and others of our Nation in London, the Isle of Wight, and other places of that Kingdom, have proved great lets to the work of Reformation, and setting of Kirk Government there, whereby Errour and Schism in that Land have been encreased, and Sectaries hardened in their way. We have been so far from endeavouring the extirpation of Prophaness, and what is con-

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trary to the power of godliness, that profanity hath been much winked at, & Prophane persons much countenanced and many times employed, until iniquity and ungodliness hath gone over the face of the land as a flood; Nay, sufficient care hath not been had to separate betwixt the precious and the vile, by debarring from the Sacrament all ignorant and scandalous persons according to the Ordinances of this Kirk.

Neither have the Priviledges of the Parliaments and Liberties of the Subject been duly tendered, but some amongst our selves have laboured to put into the hands of our King an arbitrary and unlimited power destructive to both, and many of us have been accessory of late to those means and wayes, whereby the freedom and priviledges of Parliaments have been encroached upon, and the Subjects oppressed in their consciences, persons and Estates: Neither hath it been our care to avoid these things which might harden the King in his evil way; But upon the contrary he hath not onely been permitted, but many of us have been instrumental to make him exercise his power in many things tending to the prejudice of Religion and the Covenant, and of the peace & safety of these Kingdoms; Which is so farre from the right way of preserving his Majesty's Person and Authority, that it cannot but provoke the Lord against him, unto the hazard of both; Nay under a pretence of relieving and doing for the King, whilst he refuses to do what was necessary for the house of God, some have ranversed and violated most of all the Articles of the Covenant.

Our own Consciences within, and Gods judgements upon us without do convince us, of the manifold willfull renewed breaches of that Article, which concerneth the discovery and punishment of Malignants, whose crimes have not only been connived at, but dispensed with and pardoned, and themselves received unto intimate fellowship with our selves, and intrusted with our

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Counsels , admitted unto our Parliaments , and put in places of Power and Authority , for managing the pu-blick affaires of the Kingdome , whereby in Gods justice they got at last into their hands the whole power and strength of the Kingdome , both in judicatories and Armies , and did employ the same unto the enacting and prosecuting an unlawful Engagement in warre against the Kingdom of *England* , notwithstanding of the dissent of many considerable Members of Parliament , who had given constant proof of their integrity in the cause from the beginning , of many faithful testimonies and free warnings of the servants of God , of the Snpplications of many Synods , Presbyteries and Shyres , and of the Declarations of the General Assembly and their Commissioners to the contrary : Which engagement , as it hath been the cause of much sin , so also of much misery and calamity unto this Land , and holds forth to us , the grievousness of our sin of complying with Malignants , in the greatness of our judgement , that we may be taught never to split again upon the same rock , upon which the Lord hath set so remardeable a Beacon . And after all that is come to pass unto us because of this our trespass , and after that grace hath been shewed unto us from the Lord our God , by breaking these mens yoke from of our necks , and putting us again into a capacity to act for the good of Religion , our own safety , and the peace and safety of this Kingdom , should we again break his Commandment and Covenant , by joyning once more with the people of these abominations , and taking into our bosome those Serpents which had formerly stung us almost unto death ? This as it would argue great madness and folly upon our part , so no doubt ; if it be not avoided , will provoke the Lord against us to consume us , until there be no remnant nor escaping in the Land .

And albeit the Peace & Union betwixt the Kingdoms be a great blessing of God unto both and a Bond which

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we are obliged to preserve unviolated, and to endeavour that justice may be done upon the opposers thereof; Yet some in this Land, who have come under the Bond of the Covenant, have made it their great study how to dissolve this Union, and few or no endeavours have been used by any of us for punishing of such.

We have suffered many of our Brethren in several parts of the Land to be oppressed of the common Enemy without compassion or relief; There hath been great murmuring and repining because of expence of means and pains in doing of our duty; Many by perswasion or terror have suffered themselves to be divided and withdrawn to make defection to the contrary part; Many have turned off to a detestable indifference and neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God and the good of these Kingdoms; Nay many have made it their study to walk so, as they might comply with all times and all the revolutions thereof. It hath not been our care to countenance, encourage, intrust and employ such onely, as from their hearts did affect and mind Gods work; But the hearts of such many times have been discouraged, & their hands weakened, their sufferings neglected, and themselves slighted, and many who were once open enemies, & alwayes secret underminers countenanced, & employed, Nay even those who had been looked upon as Incendiaries, and upon whom the Lord had set marks of desperate Malignancy, falsehood and deceit, were brought in, as fit to manage publick affaires; Many have been the lets and impediments that have been cast in the way, to retard and obstruct the Lords work, and some have kept secret, what of themselves they were not able to suppress and overcome.

Besides these and many other breaches of the Articles of the Covenant in the matter thereof, which it concerneth every one of us to search out and acknowledge before the Lord, as we would wish his wrath to be turned away

away from us ; So have many of us failed exceedingly in the manner of our following and pursuing the duties contained therein , not onely seeking great things for our selves , and mixing of private interests and ends concerning our selves and friends and followers , with those things which concern the publick good , but many times preferring such to the honour of God and good of his cause , and retarding Gods work , until we might carry alongs with us our own interests and designes . It hath been our way to trust in the means , and to rely upon the arm of flesh for success , albeit the Lord hath many times made us meet with disappointment therein , & stained the pride of all our Glory , by blasting every carnal confidence unto us : We have followed for the most part the counsels of flesh and blood , and walked more by the rules of policy , then piety , and have hearkened more unto men than unto God .

Albeit we made solemn publick profession before the World of our unfained desires to be humbled before the Lord for our own finnes , and the finnes of these Kingdoms , especially for our undervaluing of the inestimable benefit of the Gospel , and that we have not laboured for the power thereof , and received Christ into our hearts , and walked worthy of him in our lives , and of our true and unfained purpose , desire and endeavour for our selves , and all other under our power and charge both in publick and private , in all duties which we owe to God and man to amend our lives , and each one to go before another in the example of a real Reformation , that the Lord might turn away his wrath and heavy indignation , and establish these Kirks and Kingdoms in truth & peace , Yet we have refused to be reformed , and have walked proudly and obstinately against the Lord , not valuing his Gospel , nor submitting our selves unto the obedience thereof , nor seeking after Christ , nor studying to honour him in the excellency of his person , nor employing

ing him in the virtue of his Offices, not making conscience of publick Ordinances, nor of private nor secret duties, nor studying to edify one another in love. The ignorance of God and of his Son Jesus Christ prevalest exceedingly in the Land; The greatest part of Masters of families amongst Noblemen, Barons', Gentlemen, Burges-  
ses and Commons neglect to seek God in their families, and to endeavour the Reformation thereof; And albeit it hath been much pressed, yet few of our Nobles and great ones ever to his day could be perswaded to perform family duties themselves and in their own persons; which makes so necessary and useful a duty to be misregarded by others of inferior rank; Nay many of the Nobility, Gentry, and Burrows, who should have been examples of Godliness & sober walking unto others, have been ring-leaders of excess and rioting. Albeit we be the Lords people engaged to him in a solemn way, yet to this day we have not made it our study, that judicatories and Armies should consist of, and places of power and trust be filled with men of a blameless and Christian conversation, and of known integrity, and approven fidelity, affection and Zeal unto the cause of God, but not onely those who have been neutral & indifferent but disaffected & Malignant, and others who have been prophane and scandalous have been intrusted; By which it hath come to pass that judicatories have been the seats of injustice and iniquity, and many in our Armies by their miscarriages have become our plague, unto the great prejudice of the cause of God, the great scandal of the Gospel, and the great increase of looseness and prophanity throughout all the Land. It were impossible to reckon up all the abominations that are in the Land, but the Blaspheming of the name of God, swearing by the Creatures, prophanation of the Lords Day, uncleanness, drunkenness, excess and rioting, vanity of apparel, lying and deceit, railing and cursing, arbitrary and uncontrolled oppression, and grin-

grinding of the faces of the poor, by Landlords & others in place and power, are become ordinary and common sinnes; And besides all these things, there be many other transgressions, whereof the Land wherein we live is guilty: All which we desire to acknowledge and to be humbled for, that the world may bear witness with us, and that Righteousness belongeth unto God, and shame and confusion of face unto us as appears this day.

And because it is needful for these who find mercy not only to confess but also to forsake their sin, Therefore that the reality and sincerity of our repentance may appear, We do Resolve and solemnly ingage our selves before the Lord, carefully to avoid for the time to come, all these offences, whereof we have now made solemn publick acknowledgement, and all the snares and temptations which tend thereunto: And to testifie the integrity of our resolution herein, and that we may be better enabled in the power of the Lords strength to perform the same, We do again Renew our Solemn League and Covenant, Promising hereafter to make conscience of all the duties whereunto we are obliged, in all the heads and Articles thereof, particularly of these which follow.

1. Because Religion is of all things the most excellent and precious, The advancing and promoving the power thereof against all ungodliness and profanity, The securing and preserving the purity thereof against all error, heresy and schisme, and namely *Independency*, *Anabaptisme*, *Antinomianisme*, *Arminianisme*, *Socinianisme*, *Familisme*, *Libertinisme*, *Scepticisme*, and *Erastianisme*, and the carrying on the work of uniformity shall be studied and endeavoured by us before all worldly interests, whether concerning the King or our selves, or any other whatsoever. 2: Because many have of late laboured to supplant the liberties of the Kirk, we shall maintain and defend the Kirk of Scotland, in all her liberties and priviledges, against all who shall oppose or undermine the

the same, or encroach thereupon under any pretext what-  
soever. 3. We shall vindicat and maintain the liberties  
of the Subjects, in all these things which concern their  
consciences, persons and Estates. 4. We shall carefully  
to be maintain and defend the Union betwixt the Kingdoms,  
us and avoid every thing that may weaken the same, or  
involve us in any measure of accession unto the guilt of  
those who have invaded the Kingdom of England. 5. As  
we have been alwayes Loyall to our King, so we shall still  
endeavour to give unto God that which is Gods, and to  
Caesar the things which are Caesars. 6. We shall be so  
lver farre from conniving at, complying with, or countenanc-  
ing of Malignancy, injustice, iniquity, prophanity and  
impiety, that we shall not onely avoid, and discoun-  
tenance those things, and cherish and encourage those  
persons, who are zealous for the Cause of God, and walk  
according to the Gospel; But also shall take a more effec-  
tuall course than heretofore in our respective Places and  
Callings, for punishing and suppressing these evils, and  
faithfully endeavour that the best and fittest remedies  
may be applyed, for taking away the causes thereof, and  
advancing the knowledge of God, and Holiness and  
Righteousness in the Land: & therefore in the last place, as  
we shall earnestly pray unto God that he would give us *able*  
*men fearing God, men of truth and hating covetousnes* to judge  
or, and bear charge among his people, so we shall according  
to our Places and Callings Endeavour that Judicators  
and all places of power and trust both in Kirk and State  
may consist of, and be filled with such men as are of  
known good affection to the cause of God, and of a  
blameless and Christian conversation.

And because there be many, who heretofore have not  
made conscience of the oath of God, but some through  
fear, others by persuasion and upon base ends and hu-  
mane interests have entered thereinto, who have after-  
wards discovered themselves to have dealt deceitfully  
with

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with the Lord, in swearing fality by his name, Therefore we , who do now renew our Covenant in reference to these duties , and all other duties contained therein, Do in the sight of him who is the searcher of hearts , solemnly Profess, that it is not upon any politique advantage or private interst, or by end , or because of any terror or perswasion from men . or hypocritically and deceitfully, that we do again take upon us the oath of God , But honestly and sincerely and from the sense of our duty , And that therefore denying our selves and our own things, and laying aside all self interest and ends , We shall above all things seek the honour of God , the good of his Cause and the wealth of his people, and that forsaking the counsels of flesh and blood , and not leaning upon carnal confidences , we shall depend upon the Lord , walk by the rule of his word , and hearken to the voice of his servants: In all which professing our own weakness, We do earnestly pray to God, who is the father of mercies through his Son Jesus Christ , to be merciful unto us , and to enable us by the power of his might , that we may do our duty unto the praise of his Grace in the Churches.

A M E N.

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## The occasion of this Acknowledgement and Engagement was this.

THE Commission of the General Assembly 1648, considering the many breaches of the *Solemn League and Covenant* (and particularly by the Engagement in War that Year against *England*) The Slackness of many in following the duties therein, And that many, (being under age when it was first sworn) had not been received into the same, did, by their *Act October 6.* ordain it to be renewed with this *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Breaches, and Engagement to Duties*, And to that effect appointed two Solemn Fasts to be kept in all the Congregations of the Land, for the Causes contained in the *Acknowledgment of Sins*, And that intimation thereof should be made to the people upon the Sabbath before, and that the *Covenant*, together with the former *Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to Duties*, should be read publickly to the People, upon the day of the Intimation, and the last Fast day when the *Covenant* was to be sworn. The resolution of the *Commission*, upon the same grounds was unanimously approven by the *Committee of Estates* then sitting, and by their *Act October 14.* Ordained to be put in Execution, in all things according to the directions of the *Commission*: And accordingly in the moneth of *December*, it was for the second time sworn in all the Congregations of the Kingdome, upon the same day, (except where vacancy, or the Ministers being under scandal or process, did occasion a delay till another day, that the place was supplied by another Minister) with great Solemnity, and such mixture of Joy and Sorrow as became people entering in *Covenant* with the Lord, And was thereafter Subscribed by all the Swearers. Afterward, the *Parliament* Conveening, in *January 1649.* by their very first *Act*, except the Election of their President, upon

upon the same grounds, Resolved to kept a Fast by themselves, for the Causes contained in the Acknowledgment, and to renew the Covenant according to the Order of the Commission, which was also most solemnly done. And last of all the General Assembly 1649. by their *AS*, July 7. did unanimously and expressly Ratify the proceedings of the Commission, as to the Acknowledgment of Sins, Engagement to duties, the Fasts, and Renewing of the Covenant by Swearing and Subscribing thereof. Hence, as the Covenant it self, so the Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to duty became National, Authorised by the Supream Judicature of Church and State, and are still obliging by Oath. Oh that the Lord had kept these things in the Imagination of the thoughts of our heart for ever.



True and short  
**D E D U C T I O N**

*Of the WRESTLINGS of the  
CHURCH of SCOTLAND,*

For the KINGDOM of  
**J E S U S   C H R I S T,**

From the beginning of the Reformation  
of Religion, unto the Year 1667.

**A**fter all these great and glorious things, which the Lord in his Love, Mercy and Faithfulness hath wrought for this Land, and in his holiness & Righteousness hath declared amongst us; these clear and powerful Manifestations of his blessed Truth, which have so brightly shined forth, to the Glory, Beauty and Praise of this whole Nation: After these many sacred and most solemn Engagements, whereby, in the evidence and power of the same Truth, all Ranks and degrees, from the King even to the meanest, became, and are still bound and devoted to

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to the Most High and Holy, Our Covenanted God, and to our blessed Lord Jesns Christ, (who alone is King in Zion and of all Saints, and whose are all the Kings and Kingdomes of the Earth,) for the advancement of his Glory and Kingdome, and for the owning and maintaining of his Glorious Word and precious Truth, which is all our Felicity and Joy: And after all this horrid Apostacy & Rebellion, whereby the same wretched Nation, in the same Generation, and almost in the same Persons, neither from the conviction of any pretended Reason or Conscience, nor from any solid perswasion of the very Advantage designed, but in the manifest Spirit of Wickedness and violence, have forgotten, despised & blasphemed the former power and Glory; Rebelled against God, by breaking the Holy Covenant; Rejected our Lord and Saviour; Overturned the Work of his own blessed Spirit and Arm; Abrogated and rescinded all these righteous Lawes and Ordinances, whereby it was established; And by most Unjust, Arbitrary and Cruel Lawes and Practices, have endeavoured the rebuilding and promoving of the Kingdome of Darknes and Antichrist, and precipitating of all men, either into the same condemnation with themselves, or utter ruine and Extermination; After, we say; all these things, which the Lord hath thus wrought and permitted in the midst of us, neither the Discouragement and Fainting of some, nor the Unsuccessfullness of the more honest and Zealous endeavours of others, nor yet our Silence hitherto, is greatly to be wondered at. For, whose eyes can behold all these things, without Dimnes and affecting of the heart? And whose heart can consider them, without Astonishment and Horrour, if not Stupefaction or Discouragement? How little wonder is it, that every visage (suppose of the fairest Nazarite) be blacker than a coal? That every eye run down with waters? And that the souls of many refuse to be comforted, and neither do

nor

nor dare rejoice as other people? When not only, by their going a whoring from thr Lord, their daily bread is become the bread of Adversity & the waters of Affliction, and when their famine of the Word of the Lord is such, that though they wander from sea to sea seeking it they cannot find it; But also the Comforter that should relieve their souls is far from them, and either covereth Himself with a cloud, that their prayers cannot pass through, or then answereth them only by terrible things in Righteousness; How can they, who by their Vanities have moved the Holy God to Jealousy, and thereby have provoked their Rock to sell them, stand before their Enemies, or chase a thousand and put ten thousand to flight? And although that we should plead with our Mother, with our Rulers, and with all other ranks of persons within the Land, that they would put away their whoredomes out of their sight, and their Adulteries from between their breasts; yet what hope is there, that Words shall prevail, where the Power and Glory of the most High is contemned? Or that Reason shall be heard, where the Counsel of God is rejected?

Here indeed is matter of Wonder and Praise, even the Long suffering of the Lord, (which is Salvation) and the Mercy and faithfulness of our God, who hath not only hitherto preserved a Remnant, even a holy seed, which shall be the substance of our Land; But (after this late suddain & astonishing stroak of his holy Indignation, which seemed to presage no less, than the woful overturning of this sinking Church, into the depth of all darkness, and the dreadful overthrow of this whole Land and Nation, in the consummation of his fierce anger, to have been poured out in our desolation) hath made Light and Salvation to arise, and Glory and Praise to spring forth, in making his grace more manifest, and commanding and asserting His Work and Covenant, more in the Sufferings and Death of His faithful Servants and Wit-

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nesses, than in all the prosperity and Victories, which formerly he vouchsaved upon us. O! blessed and exalted be his most Holy Name and abundant Grace, who for the wicked and momentany rejoicing of our adversaries, hath given to his People such sweet consolations and Exuberant Praise; and from the depths of our present distresses, and amidst the feares of so imminent and great judgments, hath, instead of an Apology before the world, put a song of Salvation in our Mouth, that, as well to Testify for the Lord against the backsliders, as for the comfort and consolation of all, who love and wait for his Salvation. We may call the Heavens to hear and the Earth to give ear, that we may publish the Name of the Lord, and ascribe Greatness to our God, whose work is perfect, and all his wayes Judgment; A God of Truth, and without iniquity, Just and Right is He. We have corrupted ourselves, our spot is not the spot of his Children, we are a perverse and crooked generation: Do we thus require the Lord, O foolish people and unwise? Yet is not He our Father that hath bought us? Hath not He made us and established us? Let us then remember the dayes of old, when the most High did visit us, and the Lord became Our God, and we became His People and Inheritance. This is the Testimony of dying witnesses; this is the voice of his present Dispensations. We will therefore call to mind the Years of the Most High, and the wondrous works of the Lord, which He alone did work in our Land: We will also declare our manifold Engagements, and our most solemn and sacred Covenants, with and to Our God; that the Lord's Loving Kindness may be made known; that the Innocency, Strength & Joy of his Servants may appear; that the glory of all his Righteous Judgments, which are either already come upon us, or which we have reason to fear, may be made manifest; that wickedness may stop it's mouth;

mouths; and that all the Enemies of the Lord may be confounded.

It is not here intended to resume these debates, which, as the Adversaries have formerly moved, and pertinaciously maintained against the Work of God, and almost against every passage and transaction thereof; so have the Lovers and Owners of it, abundantly satisfied, and the Lord Himself determined with that power and Evidence, that, the Conversion of some and Conviction of almost all, and even of it's most desperat opposers, is not the smallest part of its Glory: But seeing the party that now prevaleth, hath disdained that method, and only by plain force and Violence, in the most gross and desperat Rebellion, Blasphemy and Perfidy against God and his Cause, and the highest and most determined contempt and misregard of all good Conscience, and sacred Oathes, that ever the sun beheld, hath carried on and advanced this present Apostacy and defection, under which all the Godly do mourn, and the Land perisheth. We shall only here endeavour, the sincere and candid Representation of these thinge, which, as they were once the Glory of the Lord, and joy of his people in this poor Nation, so are they now the Testimony and Triumph of his witnesses, and the Patience and Hope of all his Sufferers, and may be to the full Satisfaction of all, who shall hear of these late and present troubles, wherewith the Lord doth Exereise us, and will undoubtedly in the end prove, either the Exaltation and Praise, or the Desolation and perpetual Confusion of BACK SLIDEN SCOTLAND.

When Scotland, through the usurpation of the Roman Antichrist, and the contagion of his abominations, and through the Pride, Lust and Tyranny of Prelacy, (the very root and strength of that Kingdom of wickedness) had fallen into that gross and black darkness of Ignorance

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and Superstition , and into these strong delusions , (where-  
with the Lord, as he hath threatened, so hath he ever infallibly  
plagued that Antichristian course) and for many hundred  
Years had lien involved therein ; It pleased the Lord in his  
wonderful mercy and free love, to cause the glorious Light  
of the everlasting Gospel again to arise and thine forth a-  
mongst us : Which, as it is ever best witnessed by its own  
power and purity ; So through the power and wisdome of  
God alone, even by the weakness of very mean instruments,  
in the midst of the flames of fiery persecutions , and against  
the rage and fury of the Devil , and of all the powers of  
Hell , was this work advanced and effectuated: As the re-  
cordes of these times from 1494. until about the Year 1560.  
do plainly discover. During which period of time , these  
things are very observable.

*First.* That where, and when ever the Light and Truth of  
God did discover and testify against the Corruptions , Er-  
rors ; Idolatry , and Superstitions of Popery , in the same  
manner it testified and declared , that the Popes usurped  
Tyranny , and the Pride , Idleness and Domination of the  
wicked Prelates , were chiefly the Authors and Maintainers  
thereof.

*Secondly.* That such as the Lord did from time to time  
call to , and send forth for the work of the Ministry , did  
walk therein , with the same Painfulness , Poverty , Sim-  
plicity , Humility , and Equality , which the Holy com-  
mand and practices of our blessed Lord and his Apostles ,  
do constantly commend : Hence it is , that , in so far as  
this point could fall under the enquiry of these times , it is  
clearly held our, that they acknowledged no Officer in Gods  
house Superiorite a Preaching Minister : And according to  
the standard of this Office , did they try, reject and crave  
the Reformation of exorbitant Prelacy . As the examina-  
tions & testimonies of the faithful in these dayes do witness.

*Thirdly.* That as the love of God and his blessed Truth ,  
add the Precepts , Promise and Presence of our Lord Jesus  
Christ,

Christ did enable unto all Patience with joy , such as ,  
by the call of a clear and necessary providence , the Lord  
set forth to be witnesses ; ( who , for the love and Testi-  
mony of Jesus , cheerfully embraced the fire and faggot )  
so when the Lord did multiply the faithful to a Reasonable  
Capacity , they were so far from resigning themselves , and  
abandoning that First , and most just Priviledge of *Self-  
defence* , to the arbitriment even of the lawful powers , and  
of that Authority which they did acknowledge , that they  
not only owned it and stood to it ; but did account them-  
selves so much the more obliged to their own Preservation ,  
and esteemed the same so much the more endeared to them ,  
that the setting forth of the Glory of God , in the main-  
tenance of the blessed Gospel & the propagation and con-  
teuance thereof seemed so necessarily to depend thereon :  
which endeavours they did further extend , in the bowels  
and bounds of brotherly affection in Christ Jesus , unto the  
same duty of defence and *Affistance* to all his members .  
And in effect : if their principles and practices be well con-  
sidered , it will appear , that , as when God called them to  
suffering , they loved not their lives unto Death , that they  
might witness a good confession ; so when they attained  
to any probability of *Acting* , they thought themselves in-  
dispensibly obliged , upon their uttermost hazard to defend  
the Gospel which they had received , and to suppress all  
Superstition and Idolatry contrary thereto , although the  
motive of *Self-defence* had not been conjoined : And it  
will appear , that the Necessity of Convocations and Com-  
binations ( though not only without , but even against Author-  
ity ) Yet being in order to such necessary and just Ends ,  
did sufficiently warrant them before God and all men ,  
from the breach of any Law or Act then standing against  
the same , wherewith they might have been charged . For  
verification hereof , though the whole course of our Re-  
formation be an unquestionable evidence , yet let the in-  
stance of their first appearance be observed , wherein both

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the motives, Actors, and all other circumstances, do more clearly and beyond all cavillation hold out, that only the Love and Zeal of God, in the same Spirit in which they had so constansly suffered, did stir them up, from the pure and vive sense of their indispensible duty and certaine privileged, againtt all opposition whatsomever, to own and set themselves for the defence of the Gospel and the true Ministers thereof. The passage is thus.

In or about the Year 1555. the Queen by the instigation of the Prelats, (perceiving the increase of the Protestants, and fearing some inward distraction, during the wars then with England, if shee should fall upon a more rigorous and general course,) did cause all the Preachers to be summoned: Whereupon the body and generality of the whole Protestants, resolved to keep the Dyet. But the Bishops apprehending the hazard, did procure that they should be commanded instantly to the borders: Nevertheleſs God had so provided that upon the same day the West-land Quarter returned from it; which consisting of many faithful men, so soon as they understood the matter, they repaired to the Queen, and plainly in the hearing of the Prelates did charge them with the cruel device intended, and certified Her' of their resolvtion, both to oppose it, and defend their Brethren to their uttermost; and ceased not, until that She was moved to discharge the citation.

Thereafter in the Year 1557. they entered into a Covenant and constant mutual Defence of the Gospel, their Ministers, and themselves, against all their adversaries, in these words, *We perceiving how Sathan in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly do rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the Gospel of Christ, and his Congregation, ought, according to our bound duty, to strive in our Masters cause, even unto the death, being certain of the Victorie in him: The which our duty being well considered, We do promise before the Majesty of God, and his Congregation, That we (by his grace) shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance,* and

and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God, and his Congregation: And shall labour according to our power, to have faithful Ministers truly and purely to Minister Christ's Gospel and Sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them; the whole Congregation of Christ, and every Member thereof according to our whole powers, and waging of our lives, against Satan and all wicked power that doth intend Tyranny or trouble against the foresaid Congregation. Unto which holy Word and Congregation, we do joyne us; and so forsake and renounce the Congregation of Sathan with all the superstitious abominations and idolatry thereof. And moreover, shall declare our selves manifest enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God testified to this Congregation, by our Subscription to these presents. At Edinburgh the third day of December, Anno 1557. God called to witness.

Likeas in the Year 1559. being again necessitated to assemble for, and stand to the defence of the Gospel and themselves, at Perth, they renewed and enlarged the same engagement, according to the good hand and Spirit of God upon his Servants, in these words, At Perth the last day of May, the Year of God 1559. Yeares, the Congregations of the West Countrey, with the Congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundie, Angus, Mearns and Montrose, being conveened in the Name of Jesus Christ. for setting forth of his glory, understanding nothing more necessary for the same, than to keep a constant amity, unity, and fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bound and obliged in the presence of God, to concurre and assist together in doing all things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his glory; and at their whole powers to destroy and put away all things that doth dishonour to his name, so that God may be truly worshiped. And in case that any trouble be intended against the said Congregation, or any part or Member thereof, the whole Congregation shall concurre, assist, and conveen together, to the defence of the same Congregation or person troubled: and shall not spare

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labours , goods , substance , bodies and lives , in maintaining the liberty of the whole Congregation , and every Member thereof , against whatsoever person shall intend the said troubl for cause of Religion , or any other cause depending thereupon ; or lay to their charge under pretence thereof , although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause .

And again in the Moneth of August the same Year, after having sustainted and valiantly resisted a second assault; both of the wicked Prelats, and of their other violent adverstaries by a third band and Oath they added a further caution to their former engagements , to the effect that in so just and holy a cause , they might never by force or fraud be thereafter fainted or divided .

And lastly in April Anno 1560. they engaged them selves in a fourth bond in these words , *We whose names are underwritten , have promised and obliged our selves faithfully in the presence of God , and by these presents do promise , that we together in Generall , and every one of us in special by himself , with our bodies , goods and friends , and all that we can do , shall see forward the Reformation of Religion , according to Gods Word , and procure by all means possible , that the Truth of Gods Word , may have free passage within this realme , with due administration of the Sacraments and all things depending upon the said Word — that we shall each one with another , all of us , effectually concurre , joine in one , take and hold one plain part for the , — and recovery of our ancient freedome , Liberties — that we may be ruled by the Lawes and Custome of the Countrey , — Again tha we shall tender the common Cause ; as if it were the Cause of every one of us in particular ; And that the Causes of every one of us now joyned together , being lawfull and honest , shall be all our Cause in Generall ; And that he that is enemy to the Cause foresaid , shall be enemy to us all in so far . — Wee have superadded these instances (as wee might have done two or three more) to the first proposed , because of their great resemblance , since there can be nothing more manifest , than that the same Provocations , the same Spirit , the same Principles*

ciples: and the same Design; did most uniformly influence all these Transactions. Now seeing that both the Occasion, Actors, Aime, and End of the first Action, and especially the observable Providence of God, that without all contrivance of man did over-rule it, do clearly purge it of any intended Rebellion or other wickedness; Certainly to affirm, that all these things were nevertheless acted in & by a rebellious Spirit, must be a sin, at least next unto that of high despite & Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, & Spirit of grace, by whose power alone, this blessed work was effectuated. Neither durst the Arch-prelat himself though our Arch-Adversary in this our present cause, & though he knew that the same doth infallibly either stand or fall upon the same principles and grounds with these cases now under consideration, proceed any further in his censure of these ~~confesses~~ and practices; than to disprove them as Violent and Disorderly. There is one thing further, which is also before touched, that the instances above adduced, especially the first, both for the Meanness of its Actors, the unpremeditated plainness of its Manner, & the singleness and purity of its End, doth most evidently make out, viz. that as these men of God, by their small and improbable appearance, did as much witness their unfained love of the Truth and zeal of his Glory, in the manifest contempt and hazard of their lives and fortuns, As when under the dispensation & call of another providence, they did patiently and cheerfully upon the same motives, lay down their lives, and suffer the loss of all things; So the end of their undertaking, was not only their own just and necessary Defence, which in such an apparent danger, might rather seem to be abandoned than intended, but above all things, the Maintenance and Defence of that blessed Evangel, which was dearer to them, than all other interests whatsoever. Wee know our great adversaries, who for the gain & pleasures of this life (what then would they not do for the preservation of life it self?) have often renounced, and would again

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gain renounce all Conscience , Allegiance and Truth; and who by their detestable Flattery , in denying the lawfulness of selfs defence although in effect Self be their only Idol) and pretending a fained affection , and illimited submission without reserve , do only court the Powers ; for the advancing of these interests , which they seem to relinquish ; as the revolutions of the World have frequently declared their practices in prejudice of both Religion and Royalty , and have often resolved both their practices and principles , into that one Devilish position, the firstyea only fixed rule of their Religion , *Skin for skin , yea altho a man hath will be give for his life*; These , we say , are not curious to enquire in this distinction ; Yet , seeing they leave nothing unexposed whereby to promote their design , and therefore , do often cavil from such advantages as the work of God afterwards obtained , and particularly the Concurrence of the Peers and *Primates Regni*, and from the defect thereof in the first appearances,would inferre the unlawfulness of the same , especially in order to the design of Reformation ; Threfore wee further add with these noble worthies , that as it cannot be denied . 1. That the right and Priviledge of Self defence is not only founded in , but is the very first instinct of pure Nature , and spring of all motion and action . 2. That it was competent to , and exercised by every individual , before that either Society or Government was known . 3. That it was so far from being surrendred by the erecting of these , that it was and is the great End and motive , for which all voluntary Societies and Policies were introduced and are continued . 4. That it is a principal rule of Righteousness , whereunto that great command of love to our neighbour , by the Law of God and by our Lord himselfis resolved , and whereby it is interpreted ; so it doth infallibly follow , that the same right and Priviledge is yet competent to all men , whether Separately or Jointly ; and needeth no other pre-requisit , but that of intolerable and inevitable injury ; which

which for a man to suffer under pretext of the good of the Common- wealth, would be , for the delusion of an empty name , only for the lust of others, really to deprive himself of his whole share and interest therein ) and is compleated for exercice by such a Probable Capacity , as may encourage the Affortors thereof to undertake it.

And as for that other , and more noble design of the Maintenance and Reformation of Religion , waving the question and Debate , *Whether the same can or ought to be by force maintained?* Which may appear sufficiently determined to rational men , by the very contrary Practices of its adversaries , who not only by force do fight against it , but most irreligiously usurpe and detort its own weapons viz. the precepts of our Lord , for patience and meekness under a dispensation of suffering , to the perswasion of a stupid submission , and casting away the opportunity of Defence and acting ; that without control they may work its overthrow . And supposing with all men , that force is not a proper argument of perswasion , and that Religion neither can , nor ought to be thereby propagated ; Yet are we in conscience perswaded , that the grounds following , evidently held out in the records of these times , are beyond contradiction .

1. That Religion ( the highest concernment of Gods glory and of mans happiness both temporal and eternal ) is the most important , dear and precious of all interests .

2. That to be violated in this ( which cannot be without an unjust force either of mens Persons or Goods , is the most wicked and insupportable of all injuries .

3. That the propelling by force of such injuries , was the justest cause and quarrel , that men in their Primeve Liberty could be engaged in .

4. That , as for the security of this Interest , and no wayes to make an absolut surrender thereof to the arbitrement of any , men were mostly induced to the appointing of Governours , so the glory of God , which is the end

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of all things , but herein is most especially concerned was , by the erecting of Rule and Government , for the security of Religion , more particularly and eminently intended .

5. That the Powers appointed for Preservation , cannot warrantably endeavour Subversion .

6. That , as every man is bound to obey God rather than man ; so such Violence , and intolerable and inevitable injury offered by the Powers on his account , as to the person injured , destroyeth both the Commonwealth of the people ; and more specially ; the Glory of God , which are the only ends of Government , maketh both the end , the Means of Government and Authority , and the injured person 's Obligation thereunto , to cease .

7. As the persons , one or more reduced to this estate and condition , if by a real or apparent incapacity of Acting , they conceive themselves called to a Testimony by Suffering , ought herein with all patience , to give unto God the Glory ; so having the opportunity of , and being called , whether to their own Defence , or the Assisting of their Brethren in so just a cause , they ought therein valiantly to acquit themselves , for the Glory of God , the maintenance of his Truth , and the mutual preservation one of another .

8. As the Combination of more persons , whom the same common cause of just and necessary Defence doth join together , is founded upon , and doth most natively arise from that Primeve Right and Priviledge , which at first gave Being and Rise to all Societies , and whereunto , the force of extream Necessity , through the perversion of that Mean of Government , appointed for their Preservation ; doth ultimately reduce them ; so the duty of mutual Assistance , is not only warranted by that principle of Humanity and common Stipulation , which is the Motive and Bond of mens entering into Society , the immediat and subordinat End of all Rule , and the most effectiue Mean , whereby

that

that superior end of the Good and Safety of every Individual therein included, can be best secured: But also, first, by that more endearing principle of Christian and brotherly Affection in the Lord; upon the indispensable force and obligation whereof, the very glory and righteousness of the great and last judgement seemeth to be founded, Mat. 25: 31. to the end. And, secondly, by that supremem and chief concernment of God's Glory, to which the interests of all Powers and Commonwealth's must certainly stoop & cede. And how is it possible, that any scruple aenent this can remain with any considerat or conscientious person? If we consider that whole Cities, Kingdomes, and Empires, for the violation of this duty, in not relieving and delivering of Innocents from the unjust Tyranny, even of lawful Powers, have been involved in the Guilt of the violence and cruelty, which had been only acted by one or a few persons, and have been overtaken therefore, by fearful effects and Judgments, to their utter ruine and Subversion. As is most evidently confirmed by that clear intimation thereof made by *Jeremiah*, to the Jewes, Chap. 26: 15. *Know ye for certain that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon your selves, and upon This City, and upon The Inhabitants thereof.*

9. As the Power and exercice of Reformation hath been grossly calumniated by the adversaries, as if thereby were meant and had been practised manifest force and violence upon Consciences and Perswasions; so on the other hand, open Idolatry, Blasphemy, Perjury, Venting and Spreading of Heresy, and such like abominations, (being most dishonorable to God, and pernicious to all Commonwealths) ought without doubt, by all means to be suppressed, restrained and severely punished. Now that this Vindicative and (in case of backsliding) Reforming Power is committed to the Magistrat, and that he is thereto mainly appointed, none will question; but what if not only the Supreme Magistrat, but with him all the Nobles and

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Priniores of the Realme shall turn the principal perversers, and chief Patrons of these abominations? As we have already cleared, that, in case either the People or any part of them, be violented to a sinful complyanee, or be wickedly persecuted for adhering to God in the profession and practice of the contrare duties; they may lawfully Defend themselves, and are mutually bound to assist and deliver one another: So it now comes to be considered, that, seeing the maintenance of Truth and the true Worship of God, were & are the principal ends & motives of contracting of Societies and erecting of Governments, whereunto both the People and Rulers, are not only separatly every one for himself, but jointly obliged for the publick advancement and establishment thereof; and that God doth therefore equally exact and avenge the sin of the Rulers only, or of the People only, or of any part of the People only, upon the whole body of the Rulers and People, for their simple Tolerance and connivance, Without their active compliance with the transgressors; of necessity, both from the principles deduced, and from themost vifible judgments of God agreeable thereto, there must be a Superior and Antecedent obligation to that of Submission, incumbent upon all both jointly and separatly, for the maintenance, vindication and Reformation of Religion, in order to the promoting these great ends of the publick profession of Truth and true Worship, which the Lord doth indispensably require And though this position be indeed more evident, where exprefs Covenants betwixt/God and the whole People, betwixt Rulers and their Subjects, and betwixt the People and subjects amongst themselves in order to these Holv Duties, can be produced; yet seing all Constitutions of Societies and Governments, do virtually suppose and imply the same, and are founded thereon, the Assertion doth with equal certainty firmly hold. But that all contradiction may stop its mouth, let the import and true meaning of the Scriptures, and instances following be

be impartially weighed. Deut 13: ver. 12, 13, 14, 15. The Lord faith, *If thou shalt hear that in one of thy cities, certain men amongst you have withdrawn the inhabitants of their city, to serve other Gods, and if after diligent search, the thing be found a truth, thou shalt smite and destroy that city utterly.* Ios. 22: ver. 17, 18, 19. Phineas faith to the two Tribes and the half, upon their supposed defection, *If yee rell to day against the Lord, to morrow he will be irooth with the whole Congregation of Israel:* And Judges 22. throughout, in the case of Israel against Benjamin and Gibeah. All the places, as they clearly hold out the command and practice most consonant to our position; so to think that the same may be evaded, by abstracting the places to the *Hypothesis* contained in the letter *viz.* of more or all the cities against one apostatizing, and that either an equal division of the cities, (the one half faithful, the other backslidden) should bring the matter to an accommodation; or that the greater part backsliden (who certainly had the casting voice in that *Democraeick* constitution, should oblige the fewer remaining stedfast, to a sinful acquiescence, is to elude all Scripture, and mock the Holy Ghost by whom it is given. Now, whether these places and what is premised, do warrant a just extention thereof in favours of the people, against backsliden Rulers both supream and subordinat, or even in favours of a part of the people (with the caution subjoined) against the greater part wickedly backsliden, let the World judge. Oh! did the wrath of God, for the hidden and secret sin of one poor accursed *Achan*, suddenly and fearfully overtake the whole people, and ALL THE CONGREGATION of Israel, so that, *that man perished not ALONE in his iniquity?* And had not our Reformers great reason to fear and tremble, lest the Manifest Toleration of proud, cruel, and flattering Prelats, who had perverted the lawful Powers into bloody Persecuters; and of Idolatrous Priests, whose wickedness and Idolatry had corrupted the whole Land, might involve, not only themselves

selves but the whol Nation, in destroying and overflowing indignation.

We are not ignorant of the no less wicked than groundless easils of some, as if we would make, or have every man to be a *Phinbeas*: And what then? Would God (it wishes, yea prayers and teares could make it) that all his Servants were as *Phinbeas*, and that he would pour upon every one of them, the same Spirit of Holy Zeal which was in him, that by removal of the cause, his fierce anger against this poor consuming Land might cease. But as for that Act of *Phinbeas*, the termes following being general and ambigous, admitting of several distinctions & subdistinctions, as it is not easy without distinguishing, *in theſe* to define an Action and Call Extraordinary, and an Action and Call thereunto only Heroical; and to state the true specifical Difference and just limits between an Action and Call Extraordinary, and an Action and Call Heroical, as they are strictly taken and contradistinguished; and clearly and convincingly to demonſtrat, what and how much more is required in an Extraordinary Call to all Extraordinary Action, than is required in a ſufficient Call unto an Heroical Action? And whether an eminent measure of Holy Zeal, Magnanimity & Fortitude do conſtitute a ſufficient Call unto an Heroical Action; or do only Dispose and fit the person for the right and better performance thereof, as a Call unto the Action, and the Fitness of the Person for doing of the ſame are contradistinguished; or may not both Dispose and fit the person for performance of the Action, and alſo include and give a Call unto the Action it ſelf: So when the matter is fully conſidered, it will be more difficult than perhaps is apprehended, to prove that the Act of *Phinbeas* was Extraordinary, ſtrictly taken and in contradiſtinction to that which is only Heroical; or that his Call thereunto was Extraordinary, in contradiſtinction to that which is a ſufficient Call unto an Heroical Action;

and

and more difficult to determine, otherwise than by a naked assertion, what that Extraordinary Call was? Wherein it did consist? Wherein it did differ from, Exceed or Excel a Call unto an Heroick Action? And therefore, it will be also hard convincingly to demonstrat, that it might not have been lawfully done by another of the Children of Israel, whom the Lord had animated thereunto, by the same Holy Zeal and Resolution. And this is the more considerable, because, as we very rarely, (if at all) find the Lord commanding & rewarding persons for extraordinary actions, whereunto they had extraordinary Calls, so much & so highly, as here he Commendeth & rewardeth Phinehas: So the Text it self Numb. 25. doth lay the great, if not the only weight and ground of his commendation & reward, upon his Zeal, and not upon any Extraordinary Call, whereof there is not the least hint or insinuation; For vers 11. the Lord saith, *He turned my wrath away from the Children of Israel, while he was zealous for my sake among them;* and therefore vers 12, 13. promiseth him, *His Covenant of peace, a seed after him, and the Covenant of an Everlasting Priesthood, Because he was zealous for his God.* And if any shall, as it is like, some will alleadge that Heroical Actions, are not more Imitable than those which are Extraordinary; It is humbly offered to be considered, anent Heroical Actions in general. Whether, when the matter of an Action is not only Ordinary, that is, neither Preternatural nor Supernatural, though not very Frequent; but also Just and Lawful, yea, and Necessary both by divine precept, & as a mean to a good & necessary End; and when either, there is not, or doth not appear any other to do the work, whether, I say, in that case, a Spirit of Holy Zeal, Magnanimity and Courage, wrought and excited by the Lord in his Servants and People, moe or fewer, being otherwise in a Rational and probable Capacity, be not for that time a sufficient Call, unto the performance of these Actions which

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are commonly called Heroical; and especially when anywhere the Action is not unnecessarily, irrationally, nor in vanity attempted, but may be, and is performed not only without prejudice of the True, necessary and Chief Good of the Church and Commonwealth, or of any particular persons just Right and security; but also in the case of the Magistrat, and others, their wilful and perverse neglecting of their duty, is necessarily undertaken and is not only formally intended by the Actor, but also natively and really doth conduce to the Glory of God, the Good of Religion, the preservation and Establishment, of Church and Common-wealth, and of every particular persons Just Rights and Security, by suppressing of Impiety, promoving of Truth and Holiness, doing of Justice, Turning away of wrath and removing of present and preventing of future Judgments. And as for the particular instance of *Phinehas*, if the Lord did not only raise him up to that particular Act of Justice, but also warrant and accept him therein, and reward him therefore, upon the account of his Zeal, when there was a Godly & Zealous Magistrat, able, and whom we cannot without breach of charity presume, but also willing to Execute Justice; How much more may it be pleaded, that the Lord, who is the same, yesterday, to day and for ever, will, not only pour out of that same Spirit upon others, but also when he gives it, both Allow them, though they be but private persons, and also Call them, being otherwise in a Physical and probable Capacity, to do these things in an Extremely necessitous, and otherwise irrecoverable State of the Church, to which in a more intire condition thereof, he doth not Call them; and particularly when there is not only the like or worse provocations, the like Necessity of the Execution of justice and of Reformation, for the turning away of Wrath and Removal of Judgments, that was in *Phinehas* case; but also when the Supreme Civil Magistrat, the *Primores Regni* and

and other inferior Rulers , are not only unwilling to do their duty, but so far corrupted and perverted, that they are become the Authors and patronizers of these abominations. Which is also the more considerable , because, if upon the fear or suspicion of the Accidental hazard of Private mens usurping of the Office, or doing of the duty of Publick persons , every vertue and vertuous Action , which may be so abused , shall be utterly neglected, Impiety shall quickly gain an Universal Empire , to the extirmination of all Goodness. It is true , that the God of Order hath assigned to every man his Station and Calling, within the bounds whereof he should keep , without transgressing by Defect or Excess ; and therein wait and act , in such a measure of the Spirit as He is pleased to communicate : And we do not hold such instances for Regular and ordinary precedents for all times and persons universally ; which while some have fancied , and heeding more the glory and fame of the Action , than the sound and solid Rule of the Holy Scriptures , they have been tempted and carried to fearful Extravagancies: Neither are insolent or disorderly, much less wicked attempts, which sometimes have covered, and yet may mask themselves with a pretence of Zeal , upon this or any other ground, to be licenced or approved; But on the other hand, as these instances hold forth , for the conviction and reproof of our stupidity and indifference , what an high pitch of Holy Zeal and Courage , the Servants of the Lord have sometimes attained , and do further demonstrat , that He doth sometimes warrant even Private persons , in their doing of these things in an Extream Necesity and collapsed state of the Church , to which at other times He doth not call them: So when the Lord , with whom is the residue of the Spirit , doth breath upon his people more or fewer , to the exciting of more than Ordinary Zeal , Courage and Resolution , for the Reforming of an Apostat Church , for the Execution of justice

upon the Adversaries , and for the advancing and establishing of Truth and Holiness in the Earth . wee ſhould rather ascribe glory and praise to him , whose hand is not ſhortened , but many times chooſeth the weak and Fooliſh things of the World , to confound the Mighty and the Wise , than condemn His Instruments for Rebels and Uſurpers , as it is like Phinebas would have been , had he lived in this generation , if the ſame Lord , who by his Spirit had Acted him , had not alſo by his own hand reſcued him .

10. As the Right of Self Defence , mutual Aſſitance and Reformation , is properly and only derivable from the grounds adduced ; ſo the Concurſe of the Nobles and *Primores Regni* , is no wayes of *absolute necessity* , though indeed ſingularly conducible for the carrying on thereof . Unto which Concurrence , as they are doubly obliged , according to that , *into whom much is given , of the ſame much ſhall be required* ; ſo , if they ſhall convert their Power to the ſtrengthening of the hands of the wicked , they do thereby not only aggravat their own condenmation , but by their endeavouring to wreath and fasten more strongly the yoke of wickedneſſ and oppression , they do the rather and more justify the cauſe and plea of all the Aſſerters of Truth and Righteousneſſ .

These are a part of the grounds , whereupon these Noble Worthies , raised up by God , and eminently by him iſpired , did ſingly act for His own glory : Which as they have left upon record for their own perpetual vindication , ſo thereby they did clearly purge themſelves from all imputation of Rebellion . Nor were their proceedings and practices ever by any ſo much as termed disorderly , except by ſuch who being altogether indifferent in the Work of God , endeavour by all means to calumniat and shame them , from being made precedents to their own prejudice .

Fourthly , It is obſervable , that though the practices of these

these first times were Extraordinary, & to many may appear Disorderly, Yet the faithful men whom the Lord honoured both to suffer & to do for His name, did constantly and boldly charge both the Rise and progress of these disorders, upon the persons then in Power & Authority, who, being ordained & entrusted by God, for the defence and maintenance of Truth and Righteousness, (as the only true foundations and solid grounds of the Peoples felicity, whether temporal or eternal, and including all the ends, for which either the Power or Persons of Governours are appointed, and consequently, the principal bonds of all obedience and subjection, for which all these engagements are intended, and to which they do ultimatlty referre) by resieling and starting out from this most sacred and fixed line of subordinations; As they could not claim Obedience to their unjust commands, so, farless could they oblige the people to that more than slavish and brutish subjection, in the submitting of their souls, bodies & goods to the arbitriment of their cruel tyranny, directly contrary unto, and destructive of all these holy and great ends, both of Gods glory, and the peoples spiritual and temporal good, for which they were constituted Governours.

That this was the source and fountain of all disorders in these times, and that it was so reputed to be by these valiant Worthies, who then opposed them, the History thereof doth plainly verify. We are not forgetfull; how vehemently the Powers on earth, which set themselves against the Lord, and their creatures and flatterers, have in all times decryed such assertions: The noise, belshings, and thunderings of *Treason, Treason*, where-with the very mentioning of such positions, useth at once to be attended and condemned, do already sound in our ears: Let such as are thereby alarmed, read the debats and controversies, both of former and latter times; Especially these two *Martyrs* against Tyranny,

*Lex Rex*, and the *Apologetical Narration* upon this subject. This is our peace and Establishment before the Lord and all men; that we with our Noble Reformers do acknowledge and honour Authority as the great Ordinance of God, for the uphold and maintenance of Truth and Righteousness; and the persons therewith vested, not only as eminently thereby dignified, but also as most signally impressed, by a very sacred and illustrious Character of the glorious Majesty of the Most High, who hath appointed them: But on the other hand, we cannot but wish, that these same persons would constantly remember, that not only they are the Ministers of God, and to Him accountable, but also his Ministers to the people for their good, when they neither ought to tyrannize over all at their pleasure, nor Rule only for their own profit. O! that these sacred Boundaries had ever been observed, and that both Tyranny and Rebellion with all their Antidots and remedies, had been perpetually unknown. But shall Tyranny, unto which power, both in its self is so easily corrupted, and by the flattery of others more frequently abused, be not only shrouded under the priviledge and impunity of a divine exemption; but thereby, in effect be more intolerably licenced, to the acting of all wickedness and violence, and the perverting and overturning of all the ends of government? And in the mean time, shall the peoples most just and necessary defence of themselves, (whereunto they are seldome and very hadly provoked, even by the most extream necessity) and of all their most precious concernments, the very ends for which the powers are ordained, be continuallly at the arbitriment of any Court-creature or flatterer, proscribed and persecuted under these odious names of *Treason* and *Rebellion*? Certainly, neither the all-wise providence of God; nor yet the frame of nature can endure such a Solecisme. For our part, as we are perswaded, that none pleadeth for

for this absolute submission in the people & exemption of the Prince , but such as for advancing of their own interest , have first prostrated their consciences to the Princes arbitrament , in a blind and absolut obedience ; whereby they know themselves sufficiently secured from all smart and inconvenience , of that more brutal than rational submission contended for : So are wee confident , that seeing subjection is principally enjoyned , for and in order to obedience , whatsoever reason or authority can be adduced to perswade an absolute & indispensible subjection , will far more rationally and plausibly inferre an illimited and absolute obedience , and that to plead for a priviledge in the point of obedience , and to disclaim it in the point of subjection , is only the flattery of such , as having renounced with conscience all distinction of obedience , would devest others of all priviledges , that they may exercise their tyranny without controll . But he who hath called Rulers , Gods ; Doth notwithstanding himself remain the most high God over all the Earth ; and from his obedience , neither the commands nor violence of Kings of clay ought in the least to remove us . And as these inferior Princes do often forget their subordination to the most high , in their unjust commands ; and would usurpe his Throne , by an uncontrollable Soverainty ; so the Lord , by the warrand of his Word , and approbation of his providence , and also of the people , ( when by them oppressed , but by himself animated and strengthened ) hath declared and made void this their pretended exemption and impunity , and removed the carcases of such Kings and broken their Scepter . Amongst which precedents , the instance of these times , whereof we now speak , is worthily recordeth , & deserveth better to be remembred .

Seeing therefore , that neither the ordinance and commission of God , nor yet the surrender of the people , thought into an absolute slavery . ( which yet no presump-

tion less than their own most express content can possibly inferre) can from any certain & rational ground and warrant, be either produced and pleaded, for vesting the Prince with that arbitrary and irresistible power and dominion, necessary and requisit to oblige the Subject to a stupid and brutish submission, to all possible injuries and outrages; and that it is impossible for any rational man, to concede that priviledge of exemption and impunity to wickedness and fury, for murthering both the Souls and Bodies of poor Subjects, which our very adversaries deny to weaknes or folly, in case of alienation of the Kingdome, or any part thereof, or any such gross act of malversation. And lastly seeing the great inconvenience, of opening a door to rebellion and all disorder, mainly urged by the adversaries, against the permitting of the people any judgment or reflection upon the Princes actings, doth more rationally plead for implicit & blind obedience, which they themselves disprove, than militat against necessary defence and resistance in case of persecution for lawful non - obedience; And that the great and true *Salvo* of all these inconveniences, and the main establishment of the Throne, is only true judgement and righteousness, no sober and impartial person can condemn their position, who denying that a tyrannous Magistrat was the Minister of God to them for their good, did plainly assert the lawfulness of self - defence, and holy Reformation, without the violation of the Ordinance of God.

But if all these things do not satisfy, Let. 1. The reason of Gods delivering of the Kingdom to the People & not to the King, with the Law it self, *Deut. 17: ver. 14.* (which the manner of the Kingdom and in effect of Tyranny, foretold by the Lord and *Samuel 1 Sam. 8: 10.* by way of dissuasive, did no wayes repeal) 2. The import of the Contract and Covenant betwixt Prince and Subject, with the unquestionable interpretation and execution

cution thereof, extant in the records of all Times and Nations; 3. The deed of the People in oppoſing *Saul* in favours of *Jonathan*, *1 Sam. 14: vers 45.* and of the ten Tribes in rejecting of *Rehoboam*, *1 King cap. 12.* (which though v. 19. it be termed *Rebellion*, yet is it no more thereby condemned, than good *Hezekiah*, who is said *2 King 18: 7.* to have *rebelled* against the King of *Aſſyria*) & of *Libna* in revolting from under *Iehoram*, *2 Chron. 21: 10.* 4. The Prophecies, Manner, and Practice of the most part of the late bleſſed Reformationſ. And laſtly let the peculiar Right and Constitution of this Kingdome by King and Parliament be conſidered and ſolidly anſwered; And then will wee also ſubſcribe to the condenmation of our Reformers and crave pardon for this digreſſion.

Upon these grounds and principles did our Noble an-cestours vigourfully bestir themſelves, and proceed in the Work of God. And as the Lord was ever with them while they were with Him, and did mind his work ſtedd-faſtly in ſincerity and uprightnes of heart; ſo, notwithstanding all the falſhood and faintings which many diſcovered, yet the Lord himſelf did gloriouſly own it, and ceaſed not, until by the fair product of his own glory, in the clear maniſtation of his bleſſed Evangel, he had without the leaſt prejudice of the fundamental conſtitution & rights of Government, to the eternal conſutation of all calumnies and reproaches, put on the Copeſtone with these joyous, and never to be forgotten acclamations of *Grace, Grace.*

Thus in the Year 1560. the Land is enlightened, the bleſſed Gopel of our Lord again revealed and reſtored; in ſo much, that both by the firſt General Aſſembly of this Churc̄h then conveeneing, and the Parliament then holden, A large Confeſſion of the true Faith is framed, approved and published.

O! that men would remember, ſeriously conſider and

fix in their hearts , the greatness and excellency of the Work of Grace and Glory , bringing Salvation , Peace and Good will toward men ; and manifesting the praise and Glory of God in the highest ; that in the just estimation thereof, they might also duly and truly ponder , discern , approve or reject all things conduced , either to its advantage or prejudice . But here is the root of all our sin and misery , that though this Light be only our Life ; and the Salvation and Redemption thereby revealed , be no less than the project of Gods eternal love , & the subject of His eternal delight ; and was more dear and glorious to our Lord Jesus , than the bosome of the Father , and all the glory of Heaven ; yet men , so greatly and highly therein concerned , do at best but rejoice therein for a season , and soon relapse , first into Indifference and Formality , and then into Error , Superstition and all Ignorance . This the Devil , the author of all wickedness , knowing and improving to the uttermost , for the advancement of his own Kingdom , doth quickly take advantage of , for setting on work , and promoving of that Mystery of iniquity . Which ( springing up in that bitter root of Pride , and working in the Spiritual power & subtlety thereof ) as it began to work very early in the Christian Church , even amongst the Disciples themselves , in presence of their and our Lord , ( as appeareth by their contention , who should be greatest ) And notwithstanding all the Grace , Power , and Presence of the Lord , which appeared in the times that followed , and all the long and violent persecution , wherewith the Church of God was then exercised ; yet continuing its motion , did still advance , until attaining its maturity in the revelation of the Man of Sin , it filled and overwhelmed the Christian World with these strong delusions of Superstition , Idolatry , and all darkness that so long prevailed therein : So it is the main & only Engine whereby Sathan , as in all other Churches , so in this of Ours hath

hath so actively bestirred himself, and attempted the overthrow of their latter Reformations.

These are the causes, why, notwithstanding of that great & glorious Light, which the Lord made to shine amongst us, the true Government and Discipline of the Church of Christ, ( though his own great Ordinance, instituted both for Fencing and securing of Truth in Purity; and for promoving of the same Truth clearly discovered and Manifested) through long opposition and many difficulties, did scarce in these dayes attain its establishment.

Yet the Lord, who of his own free Mercy and Grace, did visit us with the day spring of his blessed Gospel from on high; did also by his own Power and Presence, in and with his faithful Servants, at length also compleat his work, and establish his Kingdome over us and his Government among us: And so the Kingdome became the Lords; even the first fruits of the Kingdomes of the Earth, unto our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Progres and Period of this work, from the Year 1560. unto the Year 1592. during which space, these things are very observable.

1. So soon as this Church attained to freedome from persecution and contray violence, they Assembled in their first National Synod in the Year 1560. by vertue of that *Intrinsicke Power* and Priviledge granted by our Lord unto his Church, and exercised by his Apostles and their followers; and that without any question or control: Nor did they so much as petition for the licence of the then Authority, though the same might have been more easily obtained, than the warrant at that time impetrated for conveening of the Parliament.

2. As they first Assembled, and by vertue of the same warrant, did set on foot and continue a constant series of their Courts and meetings; ( except in so far as by plain force

force and violence they were restrained ) so they held the same in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ only , and in his sole Authority, by Direction of his Word and Spirit, concluded all their Councils, Votes and Acts. Its true that they much and long wished for , and thereafter heartily accepted the countenance and concurrence of the Powers for the time; and that , not only for Decency, but also as the gracious performance of that promise , *Isa. 49. ver. 23.* of the favour and assistance of Kings and Queenes to the Church in the latter dayes : But as they were perswaded , that the Lord Jesus ( perfect in all his house) when invested at his exaltation with all Power in Heaven and in Earth , did make a full grant and Commission of all Gifts and Offices requisit in his Church , *I Cor. 12. ver. 28. Ephes. 4. 8. &c. 11.* ( Wherein neither King nor Prince is mentioned ) and that there was no Authority wanting to these first Decrees made at *Jerusalem* , though emitted upon that simple warrant , *Act. 15. ver. 28.* It sa  
med good unto the Holy Ghost and unto us , ( wherein neither King nor Prince was included ) so did they account it gross usurpation , for the Kings on Earth , in place of their promised Patronage ( to which they are obliged , to claim and invade an Over ruling Arbitriment in the matters of God and his Church; and beleieve that He who established the distinction and confirmed their Right , by separating Cesars things from the things of God , doth also exact the same on their part .

3. The Brethren conveining in these Assemblies , did meet in perfect Parity and Equality ; against which , the Extraordinary employments and Commissions delegated to some , upon the account of the particular exigence of these times , did grant no Priviledge or Preheminence .

From these three observations , without mentioning the first Book of Discipline , containing the true grounds and frame of Presbyterial Government , which was com-

piled

piled in the Year 1560. and then aproved by the whole Church, and subscribed to by a great many Lords and Counsellors, it is evident that *Presbyterian* Government was from the beginning of the Reformation constantly intended, and its foundation really laid. We need not mention that the Pope's Authority, and all Jurisdiction flowing therefrom, was by Law in the same Year 1560, expressly abrogated and discharged; nor that in these first Assemblies, greater Benefices were craved to be dissolved, and Prelacy reputed to be only an *Humane Device*; nor is it necessary for us to clear, how that Extraordinary employment of *Superintendency*, used for a few Years in the beginning, was both only designed for an *Interim*, and in it self wholly different from *Prelacy*, and was at length rejected as burthensome. All these things are sufficiently cleared by the late Large *Apology*.

4. It is observable, that as the Avarice and Power of some, possessed and grasped after the Churches Revenues, did by the procurement of a few packed Commissioners, in the Year 1571, introduce these Mock-Bishops (called *Tulchan*) for the better securing of their own gain, which in the Assemblies immediatly succeeding, were first protested against, then quarrelled, and lastly restrained and subjected thereunto; So the Lord used the same as a warning, to awaken and animat his Servants to a more vigorous prosecution of the establishment of His House in its due Government: In pursuance whereof, the Assemblies with the King's concurrence, from the Year 1575 until the Year 1581. did with much Prayer, Fasting & Painfulness intend the work, until by perfecting of the Second Book of Discipline, and reducing of the Bishops to a simple Dimission, and condemning their Office as unwarrantable, they compleated their work in the exact model of *Presbyterian* Government, in all its Courts and Officers.

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5. During this space in March 1581. (as we now reckon) and after the Assembly had condemned the Office of Bishops as unwarrantable, the King, his Court and Council did swear and subscribe to the National Covenant; By which both the Pope's usurped Authority over the Church in one Article, and his wicked *Hierarchy* in another, are abjured: And the swearers did join themselves unto this true Reformed Church, in Doctrine, Faith, Religion and Discipline; promising by the Great Name of the Lord our God, to continue in the Obedience of the Doctrine and Discipline thereof all the dayes of their lives. Which Discipline, as the foregoing Assertions do clearly discover, to have been from the beginning fundamentally *Presbyterian*; so the Model of *Presbytery* being now compleated, and any shadow of power that the Mock-Bishops hath lately usurped, being now fully abrogated, it is sufficiently clear, that both *Prelacy* is by this Covenant abjured, and *Presbytery* owned and sworn to. And really, if it be further considered, that the Assemblies both 1581. and 1590, while most intent and forward in the erecting of Presbyteries, did enjoyn and require the same to be subscribed by all ranks of People in the Land, and that these Acts were both seconded and enforced by Ordinances of King and Council, it may be justly doubted, whether the impudence of the succeeding Prelats in denying of the Obligation, or Perjury in breaking of it, be greater. This is the Great Oath, into which, as the Lord God did bring us by the Power of his own Spirit and Truth, in opposition to that Bloody Bond, called the *Holy League*, wherein Antichrist and his followers had at that time conjured themselves against the true Church of God; So the Kingdom thereby became the Lords, and we his peculiar people, as well by the people's subjecting of themselves and their Allegiance, as by the Kings submitting himself and his Scepter, in a due subordination unto God and our Lord Jesus Christ,

for

for the maintenance and defence of his Church & Gospel, the liberties of the Land & administration of Justice. And this Oath and the Ordinances enjoyning it, notwithstanding the many fearful violations thereof that have ensued, do yet stand to this day unrepealed and declared against, to the unanswerable conviction and condemnation, even in their own Courts and consciences, of all its wicked transgressors.

6. As the *Tulchan* Bishops were the effect and product of the avarice of these Lords that favoured them: So the same principle of avarice and wickednes did again resist the work of God, when almost brought to perfection, by stirring up certain of the Nobles to re-induce Bishops, for the better inhaunsing of their Benefices, and the devouring of the Churches patrimony: And not only for their better establishment, that what they want of divine right and warrant, might be supplyed by the accession of the Kings Power and Command; but also that by their meanes, the growing wickedness of these times might abound without restraint or control, the Devil inciteth others of the more prophane, licentious and violent Courtiers, such as the Earle of *Arran* and his complices, to move and instigat the King, contrary both to the Word and Oath of God, to usurp the prerogative of Jesus Christ, who is alone King in Zion, and to invade his Churches priviledges, purchased for her with his own Blood, by assuming to himself in the first and *immediat Instance*, the cognition of her Doctrine and Censures; Which though the Church did constantly and valiantly oppose, both by petitions and protestations; yet this wickednes did so impetuously proceed, that all once in a Parliament summarily called in the Year 1582, the prerogative of our Lord is translated upon the King, and his Jurisdiction and Empire exalted over all persons and *Causas*, the Estate of Bishops, and their power and dignity confirmed, and the power of the General Assemblies

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semblies of the Church put into the King's hand. We mention not these things with any purpose to debate these questions, which have been moved on this Subject: Only we are confident, that how extensive soever the Kings power may be in the case of Reformation (which, Alas! for the most part cometh short of its reach) yet where a Church is Regularly constituted, and so acting, and by Him sworn to be maintained, no King or Prince ought so far to intrude himself into her power and privileges, unto which he is neither called nor gifted, as to assume to Himself a Sovereign and immediat power of judging and discerning upon Doctrine, and her most spiritual Rights and Censures, and thereby in effect not only to constitute Himself a proper and direct Church Officer, without our Lords appointment; but instead of Papacy so justly abrogated, and so solemnly abjured, to erect and revive the same in Himself (a Secular Person) far more absurdly and intolerably. We know that other formalities and notions are pretended, as these of Treason, Sedition, and Disorder, to palliate & colour this Usurpation; but seeing nothing spoken or acted by warrant of the Word of God, can fall under the definition or pain of these crimes, and that all Ministers and Ecclesiastick Courts are known, allowed and presumed, both to speak and act according to that only warrant. And Lastly, seeing both the warrant is to them committed, and the Church is privileged and permitted, to have its own proper power and cognition thereanent, as it followeth by clear consequence, that the things questioned, must and ought to be first subjected to her trial and cognition; so none do deny the Magistrat's just right and power, over both these things and persons, they being once lawfully found to be destitute of the warrant pretended. But seeing both Scripture and Reason doth testify against this Usurpation, as most unlawful in it self and injurious to our Lord Jesus, and that all experiences

have

have proven it to be most pernicious to his Church and Kingdom, and theretore many of his faithful Servants have worthily and valiantly resisted it not only to bonds and banishment, but even to blood for the Testimony of their Lord and Master; We return to the purpose of this observation, which is to vindicat the honour of the Lords Work, and the memory of his faithful Servants, in the discovery of the old malice & subtily of the great Enemy of the Church of God, working in the wicked Prelats and their abettors, who to the effect they may enjoy their carnal desygnes, and prosecute their wicked lusts without control, endeavour mainly by absolute surrender of all things, powers, persons and interests, to flatter and exalt the King unto an illimited Soveraignty, and pretended Omnipotency, thereby both to oblige and enable him the more to such acts, deeds, and grants as are requisite for the satisfying of their vain Ambition, insatiable Covetousness and wicked lusts: Which Flattery and Usurpation, being not more agreeable to the vain heart of man, than contrary to the Kingdom of our Lord, and the Power & purity of his blessed Gospel, what wonder if his faithful Servants (who can neither deny his name, nor disobey his commands, by complying with the wicked practices, & the blasphemous flattery of these vile Apostats) be not only hated of all men; but with their Lord and Master become the continual object of the reproaches, violence and cruelty of the wicked, as enemies and rebels to lawful Authority? Now that the world may perceive the wicked intent and design of this Prerogative, that it is none other than that of the Devil) as to conciliat & endear the powers to prelats, who while they creat the Kings prerogative, pretend themselves to be the Kings only Creatures; so to arm and animat the same powers against our Lord and his followers.) Let its Rise and Effects both first and last be marked and observed, and the search will declare, that wicked men lusting to Ty-

ranoy and licentiousnes, are checked and called by the freedom and power of faithful Ministers in the application of the Holy Word and Spiritual Censures. What remedy? This freedom is found Treasonable, and prejudicial to the Kings service and Interest, and the plain Zeal of God is therefore taxed as Sedition and Treason; and under these formalities, the Priviledges of the Church are infringed, and all the asserters thereof lashed with the same calumny: Whereupon and to perfect the cure, the King must be declared in all and over all; And by vertue of his fained Omnipotency, and for recovery of that Unity and Order, which only the coming of our Lord, his blessed Gospel, and Powerful Ministry is pretended to have disturbed, the Ancient Policy of the Church must be restored; and the greatest flatterers made the Archeft Prelats, who by inhaunting and by destroying the Power, may compesce the ( pretended ) insolency of the Ministry; and by the continual pretending of Dissatisfaction and Disloyalty, may terrify men out of all Conscience, until by the introducing of Will-worship and vain Superstitions, they may extinguish all Light, and thereby reduce that Golden Age of Order into Stupid Flattery, and of Unity into Implicit Obedience. And if these be not the kind caresses, and most native issues of Prerogative and Prelacy, and the very restoring and re-establishing of the Kingdom of Antichrist, he who cannot find it in this Period, will find all supplyed by the next.

7. Though we love not to reflect on Events, and know that no man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before him, yet seeing thereby the Lords Judgments are made manifest, men ought both to observe and fear. The Disastrous ends of all the promoters of Prelats in these dayes, ( viz. of the Earle of Morton beheaded; Mr John Douglass Archbishop of St Andrews dying in the pulpit; the Earle of Arran, after disgrace, privately killed: Mr Patrick Adamson Archbbishop of St Andrews, after recantation & disgrace, dying

dying in extreame poverty ) may justly cause their course the rather to be sumed and detested : but that which we love rather to observe, is , that as the promoters and advancers of Prelacy , were alwayes known to be men of no Principles , and for the most part of very flagitious practices ; so the resisters thereof and favourers of Presbytery , especially the Lords faithful Ministers in these dayes were not only very eminent in Knowledge, Piety & Holines, but above all had that great Testimony and confirmation; which our Lord Himself maketh use of , *John 7: 17-18.* that *they sought not their own glory, and therefore neither spoke nor did of themselves, but sought His Glory that sent them, and therefore were true and no unrighteousness was in them.* As both their flighting of Court favours, by which they were much tempted, and their obstinat refusal of Bishopricks, whereof King James himself bare them witness , doth Testify:

8 The Lord , whose Work is perfect , and who when He beginneth will also make an end , hereafter in the Year 1586. shineth through the cloud , dissipateth the darkness , and after the storm blesseth us with a great calm ; wherein , the Assemblies reassuming their just power , and the matter by the King being brought to a treaty and Conference , the Bishops are first Restrained , and then Reduced . Thereafter the order of Presbyteries being set down and perfected in the Year 1590. both the National Covenant is renewed and subscribed , by Order of the Secret Council at the Assemblies desire ; and all the power that remained either in Bishops or Commissioners , by the Assembly is devolved upon the new erected Presbyteries . And thus the Work of the Lord , in the *Parl. 12: Jam. 6.* by the *111. Act* thereof , ratifying Presbyterial Government in all its Assemblies . Courts and Officers , qualifying and restricting the former *Act. 1584.* anent the King's Prerogative , and abrogating all Acts contrary thereto or inconsilient therewih , and by other Acts there recorded , receiveth its

last and full accomplishment with Power and Beauty, added to the former Grace and Glory.

9. That, as only the malice of Sathan and wickedness of men, have in all Ages opposed the establishment of Presbytery: so the Lord, whose great Work and Ordinance it is, doth no less evidently commend it, by making, as on the one hand, its sincere and holy severity powerfully to coerce and restrain all vice and profanity; so on the other hand, the harmonious and orderly Subordination of its Courts and Assemblies, most efficaciously to prevent and suppress all Schisme and Heresy: Which both the experience of these and all succeeding times do most clearly confirm.

But though the Lord had shewed us all these great and manifold temptations and troubles, and terminated them all in such a wonderful and blessed deliverance, that we might for ever fear His great Name, love His precious Truth, and keep his holy Covenant; and though in the short unshine of that day of Salvation, He caused both King and People to taste and see the Order, Beauty and Power of that Establishment; Yet, O! how soon did we forget the Works of the Lord? We keepe not his Covenant. *O Lord, the People of thine Inheritance enjoyed it but a little.*

It is not necessary for our design, that we should trace & recount all these sad steps and degrees, by which the Holy and Wise God thought fit to bring back his Church in this Land unto that great distress that thereafter ensued, and caused her to wander long in a Wilderness of great Deserlion; nor what were the causes and beginnings of that so horrid Defection (which the Histories of the most partial pens, whatever provocations they pretend to be in the Lords faithful Ministers, cannot purge nor palliat from a meere design of carnal Policy,) carried on by manifest Disimulation and palpable fraud. It is enough for us, (let the true Histories of these proceedings be examined, and it will

will appear without the help of our observation,) that, as the beginnings of that Defection were no other than the Unfaithfulness of Man, & the inconstinance of the Wisdom of God with the carnal wisdom of this World, and that old opposition and rooted prejudice of the Kings and Powers of the Earth, who have for the far greatest part set themselves, and taken counsel against the Lord and against His anointed; so for the unquestionable confirmation of all that hath been said, either as to the wicked Rite or woful effects of Prelacy in this Church, the Devils part therein was visibly to promote his own Kingdom, by reacting the most palpable and gross Mystery of Iniquity that can possibly be described: In so far as this Apostacy arising from small beginnings, by fair and smooth pretensions, crafty insinuations, Court-flatteries, false calumnies & suggestions, open and gross perjuries, and violent disorders, according to the working of Sathan; After great and long opposition by Conferences, Warnings and petitions, and faithful and constant Testimonies and sufferings of the Zealous Witnesses of our Lord, both unto bonds, banishment, and Sentences of Death, against the again aspiring Prerogative & usurping Prelacy under its shadow, did in the secret and holy Judgement of God, change the Glory of God and of our Lord Jesus into the Similitude and Image of the *Roman Beast*, turning the Power of Godliness unto Formality, his faithful Ministers into corrupt Hirelings, the Power and Life of Preaching into Flattery and Vanity, the Substance of Religion into empty and ridiculous Ceremonies, the Bezuty and Purity of the Ordinances into Superstitious Inventions of Kneeling, Crossing, Holy Dayes and the like, the Beautiful and Powerful Government of Gods House for the Edification of Souls, to a Lordly Dominion over Consciences and violent Persecution of mens persons; And in a word, the great End of the Glorious Gospel and its Blessed Ministry, even the salvation of poor sinners, which is the pleasure of the Lord, the fruit of the

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travel of His Soul, the Joy of Heaven, the Crown and Glory of the blessed Apostles, and the end of all things, and of the second Appearance of the Great God, into an Empty Title, and specious pretext for the fulfilling of mens lust and pleasures, the establishing of their Power and tyranny, and the ruine and extirmination of all such as opposed, and mourned for all these Abominations.

Thus, this Work and Kingdom of Darknes did advance apace, and had almost attained unto its full maturity, of hurrying this poor Land and Nation head long into that Gulf of Confusion, Error and Superstition, wherein to Popery did formerly involve us, when it pleased the Lord, according to His Great Mercy and faufulness, to remember his Covenant, though we had fearfully forgotten it; and in the midst of that growing darkness and those manifold Confusions, to cause his Spirit to move, & Light to arise upon this Land, about the middle of the Year 1637. Which appearing in the former Power and Glory, did from a very small and improbable beginning, even the opposition of a few weak Women, to the introducing and reading of that Carcase of Formality, the *Service Book*, then ready to be imposted, proceed in such an Universal, Vigorous, Regular and Powerful method through the whole Land, without the least mixture and ingredient of force and Violence, but only by these most warrantable and unquestionable meanes of Petitioning, Remonstrating, Protesting, & renewing their Covenant with God & amongst themselves, that before the end of the Year 1638. the Work of God was revised with more Glory and Splendor, than ever formerly it had attained. We know that not only the Renewing of the Covenant, especially with the enlargement explaining the same, in order to the Novations in Worship and Corruptions in Government, whereunto this Church had Apostatized, and the bond of Mutual Defence thereto added; but also their Protestings and joyned Petitions have been condemned as Seditious and Rebellious:

But

But seeing the same, both from the cleat Word of God, the pure Light of Nature, Zealous and Valiant Practices of our first Reformers, and the Lawes and Constitutions of the Realme are clearly warranted; And by the Power & Presence of God were signally approved; and by the supervenient Acts of the King, Parliament, and General Assembly so fully established and confirmed; And seeing that they only were and are condemned by such, as either being the Children of the Devil, filled with all subtily and mischief, and enemies of all Righteousness, cease not to pervert the right Wayes of the Lord; or by such who for advancement of their own Interests, have sacrificed all Conscience and Reason to Ambition and Covetousness; or by such who in base and open flattery of the King and of the Powers, and neither knowing nor regarding any other Interest or Concernment, than that which dependeth on their Pleasure, do set and serve the same in place of the most high; Or lastly, by such who never did, nor do concern themselves in such enquiries, but affect a pretended Gallantry in *Gallo's* Indifferency, therefore, remitting such as are further desirous of satisfaction, unto the debats and Papers of these Times, and especially unto the late large *Apology*, we shall only mention the steps and progress of the Lords Work, and our Engagements thereto, according to our first purpose.

In the beginning of the Year 1638. great multitudes of people consisting of all Ranks, being awakned by the Arbitrary imposing of a Service - Book, more corrupt in some things than that of *England*, and the Book of Canons, and the erecting and violent exercising of the High Commission-Court, to the perverting of the Pure Worship of God, the utter subverting of all regular Government, and the confounding of all things Divine and Humane, and the destroying of our Civil Liberties; and conceiving the true cause of all the abounding Sins, and imminent calamities of these Times, to be the violation of the National Covenant-

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formerly thrice sworn in the Land, they again most Solemnly, with a very wonderful & gracious mixture of Tears and joy, renew the same almost in all parts of the Land, with the addition above mentioned, to forbear the practice and approbation of all Innovations in Worship, or Corruptions in Government, until the same should be lawfully determined, and that other of Mutual Defence and Assistance, in the prosecution of the ends of that Covenant, against all sorts of persons whatsoever. And in November the same Year, the General Assembly at Glasgow determined anent the foresaid novations and corruptions, disproving and erecting under these heads, the five Articles of *Perib*, the Government of the Church by Bishops, the erecting of Prelacy therein, and all the Corruptions flowing therefrom, whereby the Oath of the Covenant is clearly explained and purified.

In the Year 1639 the Prelats being routed, run to Court, stir up the King, England and Ireland with alltheir Friends and Popish partakers in Scotland, and against the faithful Covenanters, as Rebellious and Seditious Persons: But they having prepared for their own just Defence, the Lord by His outstretched Arm and Power, dispelling all these menacing clouds and imminent storms, doth by a Pacification concluded, reduce a fair calm; The King therein agreeing that an Assembly and Parliament shall be held, & that all matters respectively shall be therein determined. The Assembly sitting in August thereafter, the Kings Commissioner being present and assenting, doth ratify the conclusions of the last Assembly at Glasgow, and the Commissioner and Secret Council subscribe the Covenant, as it was then explained; and at the Petition of the Assembly, it is enacted to be again subscribed for the Fifth time, by the Body of the whole Land. But no Faith, Honesty, nor Honour binding the Prelats, and aCourt by them over ruled; in the Year 1640. the King and Prelats vigorously arm again, and prepare for a new war: But this intended War

is

So- composed by a new Pacification, and in the mean time,  
years the Parliament (formerly adjourned until June 1640) doth  
and, conveen at the time appointed, and by their fourth, fifth  
justice and sixth Acts fully establish Presbyterial Government; ra-  
Cor- fify the Covenant, with the Addition and Explanation of  
ful- the Assembly, and all Acts made thereanent, and abrogat  
and the Estate of Bishops, & all Acts whatsoever made in their  
ant, favours.

Thereafter, in the Treaty ensuing the Pacification, it is  
agreed that the Acts past in the last Parliament, with these  
to be made in the next Session thereof, shall be published  
in the King's Name, and have the strength of Laws in all  
time coming: Which Treaty being closed, and the last  
Session of the above mentioned Parliament sitting in the  
Noneth of June 1641. the King in person being present  
among them, and the Oath of Parliament (for maintenance  
of Religion in purity as then established, and of the King's  
Authority, and the Peoples Liberties according to the Co-  
venant; and for endeavouring by all just and humble  
meanes of Union and Peace betwixt the three Kingdomes)  
appointed to be taken by that, and all succeeding Parlia-  
ments; being taken, by the second Act thereof, super-  
scribed by the President, the foresaid Treaty is amply and  
perpetually confirmed, and the whole Articles thereof are  
ratified and recorded.

Thus, by all the Security, that either Sacred Oaths,  
or Acts of Lawful and Authorized Assemblies; Ordinances  
of King and Council; doubled and re-iterated Pacificati-  
ons and Treaties; Acts of Parliament Enacted and Re-  
enacted; the Kings Authority and Consent being often  
and solemnly interposed, both by promise and hand-writ;  
And all that either Religion, Truth, Faith, Honour or  
Honesty could devise or grant, these Wicked Prelats are  
cast out of this Church and Kingdom, Presbyterial Govern-  
ment fully established, the pure Worship of God, with  
His pure & powerful Ordinances & Ministry restored, and

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in the maintenance and pursuance of all these great Blessings, the whole Land, by many Oaths and most Solemnities, engaged unto the Lord for ever:

By all which Blessings, and the restoring of the Lord's own Ordinances amongst us, as the Work of the Gospel and the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, in the Conversion of many thousands, were greatly advanced, and the Glory of God, in the abounding of true Piety and flourishing of Righteousness, did eminently shine amongst us; (as the memory of these times in all such as fear God and love our Lord Jesus Christ doth sweetly testify) so all these great things were transacted, to the perpetual shame and confusion of all our calumnious Adversaries, without any diminution of his Majesty's just Authority and Greatness.

As the Power and Glory of the Lord was great in this Land; so the splendor and fame thereof reaching unto other Nations, it pleased the Lord thereby to provoke His People in England, at that time grievously groaning under the Tyrannous yoke of Prelacy, and justly alarmed by the imminent fears of prevailing Popery, to set about & intend the like blessed Reformation.

It doth not concern us, to reflect on the Causes and beginnings of that War betwixt the King and Parliament there, nor what were the transactions betwixt the two Kingdoms in order to that Aid and Assistance given by Scotland, and how the same was manag'd: But this is certain, that, upon the Representation of the most just and important grounds, of the maintenance of Religion and Liberty, against the prevailing power of Popery, Prelacy and Tyranny in that Kingdom of England; and their most instant and earnest desires for our help and Assistance; and the most rational and clear motives of our own Security, (the hazard & loss whereof had undoubtedly been the consequence of the Prelats Victory there) this Kingdom was induced in the Year 1643. to enter into that Sacred Bond of the Solemn League and Covenant, never to be forgotten,

con-

containing no other Articles than every ones Sincere and constant endeauours , in their several places and callings , for the preservation of the Reformed Religion in this Church , in Doctrine , Worship , Discipline and Government ; the Reformation of the same in England and Ireland , according to the Word of God , and the example of the best Reformed Churches ; and the nearest Conjunction and Vniformity of all the thrice in Truth , Faith and Love ; the extirpation of Popery , Prelacy . Error and Profanity ; the preservation of the rights and Liberties of the People , and of the Kings person and Authority in defence of the true Religion , and the Kingdom's Liberties ; the Discovery and punishment of Incendiaries ; the retaining of the Peace and Union of the Kingdomes ; the mutual assistance and defence of all entering into this League ; and the performing of all duties we owe to God , in the amendment of our lives ; and in walking exemplarily one before another : And all these in order to no other end , than the Glory of God the advancement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ ; the Honor and Happiness of the King and his Posterity ; and the true Liberty , Safety and Peace of the Kingdom.

This is that Covenant , which in all the controversies it hath occasioned , did never receive a greater confirmation than from the malice and opposition of its adversaries ; who in the same Spirit , and with the same Spite , have always persecuted and reproached it , with the same Calumnies of Rebellion , Sedition and Blood , which from the beginning , the Devil hath ever been most active to raise and stir up against the Lord Jesus , his Gospel , Kingdom and Followers . But seeing such only as are blessed , do evite the offence of Truth : and all who truely seek Gods Glory or Love the Lord Jesus , did and still do heartily approve and embrace this Covenant : Though it had brought the Sword not only into Britain , but with the Truth into all the Earth ; though it were reproached as unfriend not only to our King , but with our Lord Jesus , to Cesar and all the Kings of the Earth ; though it had divided and disturbed not only Realms and States , but with the Gospel , families and nearest

nearest relations ; and had with Paul moved Sedition throughout the whole World , we ought not thereby to be either shaken or offended. We know also, that all the subtlety and malice of Hell have been set on work , and spared no calumny or cavillation , by which either its Words , Matter or Manner might be impugned : But these are so often and fully answered , and without the assistance of any mans Patrociny, by the obvious plainness of its Phrase, the Holiness and Importance of its Purpose, and the Justice and Necessity of its way and Manner , so clearly confuted, that nothing can be added. Only seeing the Constancy of Truth ought not to cede to the Confidence of prevailing Powers , as we have asserted and do hold the subject matter of this League and Covenant to be in it self Holy , Just and True ; so we cannot but disprove the dangerous Method of some , who the better to enforce the obligation of the Oath of God , do suppose the Matter thereof , especially as to that article against Prelacy , to be antecedently Indifferent , and not determined either by the Word of God or any other Moral Precept: Justly apprehending how easily in this light and backsliding time , such suppositions may become positions ; and that the obligation of the Oath of God , now so much violated and little regarded , may be found too weak to secure mens stedfastness. As we are therefore perswaded , and would have all to consider and fix it in their hearts , that this wicked Prelacy and its Hierarchy , are only contrary to the Word of God , to the Practice of the Holy Apostles , to sound Doctrine and the power of Godliness ; ( under which exprefs consideration we are also sworn to endeavour its extirpation ,) but by the sad experience of all Ages in the Christian Church , especially in these our latter times , had been found most pernicious to all Truth and Righteousness , and the main Engine and Device , whereby the Devil hath always laboured , to advance his Kingdom of Darkness ; & therefore

fore hath been the great butt and aime, for the overthrow whereof, the great Work of God in this Land, hath been so Powerfully and Gloriously manifested: So do we most constantly hold, that as well this Article against Prelacy, as all the rest contained in this Holy Covenant, were and are antecedently obliging both to King and people, without the supervention of either Oath or promise; and that the rooting out of Prelacy, and the wicked Hierarchy therein so obviously described, is the main duty, in the endeavour whereof, (as most advantageous unto all these great and holy Ends proposed by the Covenant) all the Zeal of the faithful ought to be concentrated.

As for such profane Juglers, who neither considering this Oath and Covenant as a special Ordinance & blessing of God, whereby we are more effectually stirred up and enabled, to the performance of all the duties of Religion and Righteousness therein contained; nor knowing that this Covenant made with God, and accepted by Him, is also the Lords Covenant with us, for the securing and establishing unto us all the great Blessings and Privileges therein expressed, and that, as we therein do avouch the Lord to be our God, so doth He avouch us to be His people, Do from the Righteousness and Necessity of its matter, vainly argue the superfluity of any accessory Obligation, and would thence inferre, that the same may be the more easily dispensed with, or renounced: We do only remit them to that Solemn Covenant *Deut. 29: 10. &c.* made there betwixt the Lord and His people, and thereafter so often renewed, only for their greater Engagement to the most necessary duties of Gods express commands.

We come in the next place, unto the manner and Form of this League and Covenant; wherein, not purposing to resume the many debates that have been raised anent it, we shall only take notice, that these old Acts and Laws

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viz. Act. 43 Parl. 6. of Mary 1555. and Act. 12. Parl. 10. Jam.  
6. 1585. made against Leagues and Bands contracted with  
out the Kings consent, are now obtruded with the force &  
lustre of a new Act, cap. 4. of the last Parliament, to con-  
demn the Covenant, as from the beginning unlawful and  
Rebellious: But as these old Acts, at the time of the en-  
tering into this League and Covenant, did then stand ex-  
plained by the 29. Act. Parl. 2. Charles I. ratified and  
authorized by the King himself, in a sence most consisten-  
with the Covenant, and could no wayes render the same  
from the beginning unlawful, much less could the revival  
thereof in their greatest rigour, or the superveniency of  
any other Act thereanent, dissolve the Sacred Obligation  
of this Oath once lawfully contracted; so the reason of the  
former answere made to this objection, and the Justice and  
Equity of that Act. 29. P. 2. C. 1. whereby the same was  
declared, remaineth in full force, viz. that no League in  
*Bond made by the Subjects for maintenance of Religion, Liberty,*  
*and the Publick good of Church or State, was or can be understood,*  
*to be prohibited by these old Acts and Laws objected.* Because,  
as the makers of such Bonds, cannot be reputed to be mo-  
vers of Sedition, to the breach of the publick peace, (which  
is the express reason and certification of these old Acts ob-  
jected) so both the King and his Government, being  
appointed for the prescrvation of these great ends and Inter-  
ests, and He himself principally obliged, both by the  
Command and Oath of God upon him, to authorize all  
such bonds, Covenants, and other means which may ad-  
vance the same; It were a gross Paradox both in Reason  
and Religion, that the King's neglect of his duty and per-  
verting of his Office, to the overthrow of these ends for  
which he is ordained, should therefore oblige the People  
to a sinful Complaynce and stupid connivance, to the high  
Dishonour of the Great God and King of Kings, and the  
utter ruine of souls, bodies, fortuns, of themselves and  
their

their Posterity. Its true , it may be and is replyed , that this answer and reasoning , doth proceed from an unjust jealousy of Kings , and is founded upon an intolerable presumption in the Subject to censure and judge their astings : But seeing the entering into this Covenant , and into all others which we allow , was so far from proceeding upon an unjust jealousy , that on the contrary , it was in a manner extorted , by the force of the most palpable and rational necessity that can be imagined ; and seeing the feeling and discerning thereof , is so far from that criminal presumption alledged , that to disprove it , is in effect to deny both sense and reason , unless our adversaries can prove that notwithstanding thereof , the King is by God the Lord , vested with such an uncontrollable Dominion & Sovereignty , that whatever Violence , Outrage , or Cruelty he commit , the people are obliged by a patience , or rather stupidity greater than that of Beasts , to endure without gainsaying , it is impossible for them to establish the Tyranny that they contend for . But that the World may see , that such objections are only the wicked flattery of selfish men , and how little they do therein either use or regard Reason , in the late Act abovementioned made against Leagues & Conventions , it is declared , that the Explication contained in the *Act. 1640. vIZ.* That such Leagues and Conventions as are made by Subjects , for the preservation of the King , Religion and the Laws , are not prohibited by these old Acts , is false and disloyal , and contrary to the true and genuine meaning thereof: Which Declaration is not only a naked Assertion , and contrary to the express reason and certification of these old Acts , which is before set down ; but so blind and irrational , that in case of an *Interregnum* ; or the incapacity of the King to give His consent to any Bond , Meeting or Convention , which in such a case may be absolutely necessary , it leaves no issue or expedient .

It is not needful here to clear the necessity and advantages, which may induce Subjects to the making of Leagues and Conventions in certain cases, without the consent of the Prince; nor the exigence of these Times for the Covenant we plead for: These things are cleared by undeniable Records, which, all the Wars, Blood and Confusions that thereafter ensued, (flowing either from the perverse and obstinate opposition, violence, and Persecution of the enemies of Truth, or being the effect of Gods Righteous Judgement upon such whose hearts were false, and proved unstedfast in his Covenant,) notwithstanding all the present insulting of the Adversaries doth nothing disprove. Neither do we here resume the above mentioned practices of our first Reformers, for justifying the case in hand, and the explication of these old Acts here obtruded, who, by all their necessary Leagues, Bands and Conventions, never conceived the same to be contraveened: Only we cannot but regret, that as the Act made in the last Parliament against Conventions and Bonds, was a fearful step of the present great Apostacy, and directly levelled against the same Covenant, by which the Authors of the Acts themselves were and are indissolubly obliged; so that old Act Parliament 10. Ja. 6. cap. 12. 1585. which is thereby ratified and revived, was also one of the woful Acts of the wickedness that then prevailed in the Land, and doth relate to, &c is expressly founded upon the 43. Act. Queen Mary, Parliament 6. 1555. which, under the colour of discharging Bonds of Man-rent, was by the Queen Regent, then raging in Persecution against the Professors of the Truth, directly intended for the overthrow of the Gospel & Congregation.

We have hitherto only justified the lawfulness, or rather the necessity of the Covenant; as a League among Subjects without the Princes consent, and have not spoken thereto as a League with England, and the Subjects of another

other Kingdom: Because, as the first point is mainly denied by the Adversary; so the same being proven, upon in the same grounds (first, of Just and Necessary Defence of our Selves, Religion and Liberties; Secondly, of the assistance that we owe and do expect in case of Persecution for Truth, from all Christians in the bowels of Jesus Christ, the obedience of his new and special command of Love, & the remembrance of that great and last judgement, wherein by this Law, all men shall be judged, without respect to the difference of Nations and Kingdoms; and thirdly, upon the ground of the Glory of God, which is the great end of all things, and to which all inferior duties of Submission and Obedience ought to cede) the Justice and Necessity of the Covenant & League with England may be certainly concluded. O! that men, who weighing all things in the ballance of their own selfish Interests and designes, do make the vain and airy enjoyment of Court favour, and the evanishing possession of such advantages, as may be acquired thereby, preponderate and cast the scales, in prejudice of these great and important concernsments of the Glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, Might yet be awakened by the terror of that dreadful and glorious Judgement of the last day, to an impartial consideration of that duty, which we owe to all these that suffer and are persecuted for Truth. Surely if not visiting, not relieving and supporting (when it is in our power,) of the afflicted members of Jesus Christ, shall then be the condemnation of the Reprobate, (against which the exception of a contrary command of any King or Prince, or that the afflicted were by men for Truths sake declared Rebels and Traitors, or were of an other Kingdome, shall furnish no defence) Can we in conscience think, that the refusal of Assistance to the persecuted for Christs sake, when instantly thereto required, shall be, upon any of these pretended grounds, excused in that day?

We do not here mention the supervenient consent and

Authority of the King , by which the alleged defects , to the acknowledgement of all our adversaries , were clearly purged : Because ( though the same will afterwards fall in , as a great accession to the conviction of all Apostats , yet ) we bless the Lord who hath bottomed our Faith and Consciences upon more sure and fixed foundations ; and who gave his people more evident and gracious testimonies of his favour , power and presence , while they sincerely walked conform to the grounds mentioned , before the Kings assent obtained , than ever since .

The entering into , and taking of this Covenant , was so much the more necessary & Praise worthy in us in *Scotland* , for several reasons . 1. Because it contains no other than the same Duties and obligations ; which were before by us so solemnly Covenanted to in our National Covenant ; Neither is the restriction of our Allegiance , supposed to be made therein , any other than the true and righteous qualifications of all such engagements , most consonant unto and approven by our first Large Confession of Faith *Chap. 25. Ane t the Civil Magistrate ; the Kings Coronation Oath recorded. Ia 6. pag. 1. cap. 8.* and the National Covenant , as it was taken and subscribed both first and last ; And though our Adversaries have insulted upon the latter Confession of Faith , as if both our former principles and practices were thereby disproved ; yet let the words be considered . Viz. *Infidelity or difference in Religion doth not make void the Magistrats Just and Legal Authority. nor free the people from due obedience ,* And we are confident , that no sober man will think the acknowledgement of just and legal Authority and due obedience , a rational ground , to inferre that Tyranny over either Consciences or Persons , is thereby either allowed or privileged ; which is all that by us is contended for .

2. Because the same National Covenant did powerfully oblige us thereunto : Not only upon the account of that obstinate opposition , which the perfidious Prelats in *England* , both

both by raising Wars and breach of Pacification, had plainly testified; the revival whereof, in case of any probable Capacity, we had just reason to apprehend, and by a posterior League, (at that time, a most necessary and probable remedy,) in pursuance of our former engagement, to provide against; but also in respect of that express ground of opposition to the bloody bond of Trent, and of the detestation of all the enemies of Gods Church, who thereby conjured themselves against it, contained in the National Covenant: which could not but be a very fair persuasion and strong inductive, to engage in that sacred Bond of the solemn League and Covenant, against that same accursed conjuration, which at that time appeared so active.

3. Because the Oath of Parliament, first taken in the Parliament 1641. the King being present, obliging us to endeavour *the preservation of the Peace and Union of the three Kingdoms*, did indispensibly oblige us to enter in this Covenant, as a most necessary expedient thereto.

Having thus summarily reviewed, both the Matter and Manner of this Solemn and important League and Covenant, we cannot but wonder at the poor Sophistry of such, (especially that more Temporizing then *Seasonable Casuist*,) who delude themselves in so great matters unto such an Indifferency, as to assert, that this Covenant doth as necessarily depend upon the Kings consent for its establishment, as the private vow of a Daughter in her Fathers house, or of a wife under her Husbands power, in things free and arbitrary, though not absolutely in their own disposal, did according to the Judicial Law of the Jewes, fall under the Father and Husbands power of ratifying or annulling: but the simple proposal of these cases, doth hold out such a disparity both as to the Persons, (being only women under power,) the Things in themselves, being free, but at anothers disposal, and many other Circumstances tedious to insist on, and even as to Law it self, by which the case

is determined, being meerly Judicial, that none who fear the Lord, or mind his Glory in any measure of Sobriety, will daigne it with an answer. And such indeed are the rest of the Cavils and Calumnies, wherewith the Adversaries of Truth have endeavoured to impugn and asperse this Holy Covenant; and are so fully and often answered already, that to account them worthy the resuming and refuting, were in some sort after Vowes to make inquiry.

There is one thing that our Adversaries have frequently objected, which we cannot omit, viz. that the Covenants, both National and Solemn League were urged and pressed, both by Church Censures and Civil Sanctions, of loss of goods, sequestration and other arbitrary pains, which hath been heavily complained of, as a great violence done to Conscience: But as it was then too evident, that this Priviledge of Conscience, was for the most part only pretended by such, as had little or no feeling thereof; so the Practice of the preesnt times, doth now fully discover, that what is now so insolently retorted, was never before really scrupled at. But the Lawfulness of the course and practice then used, and the iniquity of this retortion will easily be cleared, if it be considered, 1. that the Nationall Covenant, being a standing, and binding Oath upon the whole Land, and in the Year 1638. only renewed with such an agreeable explanation, as none could or did quarrel, but such as thereby intended to palliate and perfist in their preceeding manifest violations, was according to the example of good Josiah, (who brought back the People, and Caused them stand to the Covenant of their Fathers, 2 Chron. 34. 32) most justly commanded, and under the pains due to the breach thereot, ordained to be re-taken. 2. That the solemn League and Covenant containing no other obligements, than what the National doth import, and being a most conducible expedient, both for the securing and prosecuting the ends thereof, and whereunto the National Covenant upon this ground did clearly oblige,

oblige, The pressing of the same League, is warranted not only by the former ground; but from the very bond of the National, became an indispensable Duty: By which reasons, as the former proceedings are clearly justified, so the present practice, (as being a direct and violent ranversing of these things, which were once so righteously and rationally established) is the more condemned. But whatever be the disparity of these cases in the point of Reason, we are sure that light and darkness do not more differ, than the Lenity of these former times, from the Rigour and violence now practized; and that where one then suffered for obstinacy against the Covenant, hundreds do now suffer for their stedfastness therein.

As for these Wars and great commotions, that ensued upon this great Transaction of the Solemn League, we will not thereon insist: Only we are confident, that notwithstanding all the Calumnious constructions of our Adversaries, all such as seek out and have pleasure in the Works of the Lord, will applaud unto the Glory and Righteousness thereof, who, as by the sword of Apostats in the Years 1644, and 1645. He did punish in his Justice, the Hypocrify and Self seeking of such in this Land, whose hearts were not upright in His Covenant, and thereafter in the Year 1648. did by a prevailing Sectarian Party, restrain and crush the grets and Generall Apostacy then intended, under an Hypocritical pretext of pursuing the ends of the Covenant, at that time so palpably perverted and abused; so, for the manifestation of his own Glory, and of his Mercy to them that fear him, and did not forget his Covenant, he did intermixe several gracious Intervals of his abundant Compassion; and at length did give unto his Work and people, a full and absolute Victory over that malignant Spirit and Party, that had so long prevailed in the Land, and caused the wickedness of the wicked to cease, and all iniquity to stop its mouth.

Thus in the Years 1649, and 1650. and thereafter, the

Lord was with us while we were with Him , and while we sought him , he was found of us ; but as we did forsake him , so did he also forsake us : By which position , all the mixture and varieties , both of our Acting and Gods Providences in these times , may clearly be resolved .

There was indeed at that time in the Land , not only party faithful unto God , and zealous for his Name ; but also a great Zeal of God , from clear knowledge and sad experience , generally and solemnly professed before God & all men in our Publick Acknowledgement *Anno 1649* In consequence whereof , the League and Covenant was also by the whole Kingdom renewed the same Year . And in answer thereunto , the Lord did mightily both save & defend us from all our Adversaries : And as he soon subdued our Enemies at *Stirling* , and turned his hand against our Adversaries in the North ; and caused the haters of the Lord to give submission unto him ; so , for his own Glory , the establishment of his People , and the utter confusion of his Adversaries , he did highly advance his blessed work , by the accession of all these Advantages , with the Defect thereof , it had been formerly calumniated .

The Advantages we here mention are ( besides that Publick Acknowledgement then made , and in the deepest sense thereof , the League and Covenant solemnly again renewed and taken , whereby our Engagements were not only doubled , but strongly confirmed ) 1. These many necessary & righteous Lawes enacted in the then Parliaments , both for the ratifying the latter large Confession of faith , and the larger and shorter Catechisms , agreed unto by both Kingdoms , and for the restraining & coercing of Impiety & Blasphemy , the encouragement of the Ministry , and for the promoting of Godliness . Amongst which Acts , that of abolishing Patronages , deserves a more special and commendable remembrance : Not only because of the many woful Effects and Abuses of Patronage ,

nage, as it then was (and now is) exercized, whereby frequently, Godly men, and in some measure qualified for the Work of the Ministry were (and are) unjustly restrained from labouring therein; Many Congregations needlessly continued desolate, without a fixed Ministry; Many Naughty men and utterly insufficient, at the sole arbitrement of Patrons, violently obtruded upon the People, without and against their own consent; Presbyteries constrained (contrary to the Rule of the Holy Scriptures) to ordaine men, whom the People neither choosed, nor could cheerfully receive; Foundations of prejudice and strife, betwixt Pastor and people laid, whereby the one cannot preach, nor the other hear with profit: Symoniacial Pactions often basely made betwixt patrons and the person presented, to the disgrace of the Holy Calling as well as to the sin and shame of the Persons; And the Ministry of too many, in dispensing of Word, Sacraments and Censures, made to depend too much upon the Will and pleasure of Man: But also because, it hath no Precept in the Word of God, nor Example in the old Jewish, nor new primitive and pure Christian Church, to warrant it; because, Intentionally and Natively it spoileth the people of that Right and Priviledge, in Electing their own pastors, which Scripture and Reason alloweth; And because, being the patrons (pretended) Heritage, and therefore, by him vendible to whom he pleaseth, the whole and sole power of presenting of Ministers, planting of Churches, preaching of the Gospel, and settling Maintenance, may be turned over unto, and put into the hands of men, not only profane and Strangers to both Church and Commonwealth, but also professed Enemies of the Truth, yea, Papists or pagans. And therefore, (being in it self a grievous and unwarrantable Burthen; destructive of the Church and peoples Liberties; obstructive of the free course of the Gospel; the Freedom, power and plainness

ness of the Ministry ; and occasional of much base Flattery and partiality , under which , from the very times of Superstition which introduced it, the Church did heavily groan ) it must needs be so much the greater Blessing to be delivered from it.

The second Advantage which the Lords work received, was by that great & long Transaction with the King in order to his return, & Admission to the Government; which at length , after repeated Addresses , many Treaties , and the interposing of Forraign States and princes, produced the Kings Approbation and Allowance of the National and Solemn League and Covenant: Which both by his great Oath unto the Most High God , and his hand writ and Subscription , he most amply assured , promising in the same manner to advance and prosecute their Ends , and to seek and procure the establishment thereof, and of Presbyterial Government , and of the whole work of God in all his Dominions. We know our Adversaries , persisting in their old malice , disown and exclaim upon this Transaction , as most disloyal and insolent for Subjects ( whose part is only to surrender and submit , ) to require and enter into Treaties with their Prince : But 1. As these reproaches are from the same wicked Spirit, false grounds , and base and carnall ends , which from the very times of Popery , have resisted , and been objected against the Work of Reformation in this Land ; so do wee thereto oppose , ( in full assurance before God and all the World,) these solid and evident reasons and warrants, whereby not only the Treaties and Transactions with the late King, but all these old Contracts & Agreements betwixt the then powers and people , ( which in some sort , are the very foundation of the Protestant Religion in this Realm ) are justified and approven: Wherein if there be any disparity, the difference of a King upon his Throne actually Exercing , from a Prince only ascending thereto, must cast the advantage on our side. 2. Seeing there

there is no Voluntary Kingdom, which is not both erected, sustained, and continued by a Fundamental Contract, and no Right thereto so good (though even that of David himself and his Posterity, who held the Kingdome; both by immediat grant, and interposed Oath of the Most High,) which is not settled and confirmed by this agreement, 2 Sam. 5: 3. 2 Kings 11: 17. can any rational man disprove or condemn Treaties so naturally antecedent and previous thereto. 3. The reason and necessity of this Treaty is so dependent upon the preceeding War with the last King, in which (as well as in his Kingdomes) this King did succeed him, that, seeing it can have no opposers, but such as therein were enemies, we willingly referre both the cases to the determinations of the same reasons. And as for such, who asserting the Covenant, and the Justice of the long Parliaments War, do nevertheless disprove our procedure in this Treaty, as their mis-information doth not prejudge the Truth; so neither are we answerable for their inconsequence.

The third Advantage which the Lord gave his Work, was by what the King did after his arrival in Scotland, both before and at his Coronation, for the greater confirmation of the Covenant and Work of God, and the more strong engaging of himself and this whole Land unto the Lord. Before his Coronation, he emitteth that Declaration at Dumfermling sufficiently known by this designation, wherein Professing, and appearing in the full perswasion and love of the Truth, he repenteith (as having to do with and in the sight: of God) His Fathers opposition to the Covenant and Work of God, and his own reluctancies against the same, hoping for mercy through the blood of Jesus Christ, and obsefling the Prayers of the faithful to God, for his stedfastness: And then protesteth his truth and sincerity in entering into the Oath of God, resolving to prosecute the ends of the Covenant to his utmost, and to have with it the same common friends and enemies, exhorting all to lay down their enmity against the cause

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of God, and not to preferre Mans Interest to Gods, which will prove an Idle of Jealousy to provoke the Lord, and he himself accounteth to be but selfish flattery, and so forth proceedeth in the most cordial, sincere and assuring terms, to testify his love and zealous resolutions for God, his People and Covenant, and on the other hand his great dislike & detestation of all Persons, courses and Interests contrary thereto. A Declaration, so full of heart professions, and high attestations of the Great God, that none seriously considering the present times, can reflect thereon without horror and trembling from the Holy Jealousy of the Lord, either for the then deep Dissimulation, or the present unparallelled Apostacy. However seeing the same is so assertive, that no words could add to its assurance, nor no argument less than the present Apostacy, render it to any neutral person suspect of the least dissimulation; sure we are, that the generality of the Kingdom, did thereby obtain all the warrant of the Kings most full and clear assent to, and allowance of the Covenant, that either Law or Reason could require. Thereafter at his Coronation, how the King did again confirm the Covenant, and both he and his people thereby again engage themselves unto the Lord, the order thereof printed and published to the World doth fully declare. In which, these passages are very observable. 1. That the King is desired in Name of the people, jointly to accept the Crown and maintain Religion, according to the National and Solemn League and Covenant, to which he declared his cordial assent, *wishing no longer to live, than he might see Religion & this Kingdom flourish in all happiness.* 2. After a Sermon most pertinently, plainly and powerfully preached upon that 2 Kinge II: vers 12, & 17. (wherein amongst other things, the binding power and force of the Oath of God, and the hazards of the breach thereof are fully represented) the Action commenceth wirth the Kings most Solemn Renewing of the National and Solemn League and Covenant,

nant, which was in this manner. The King kneeling and lifting up his right hand before the three Estates of the Kingdom, the Commissioners of the General Assembly, and the whole people and Congregation, *by his great Oath in presence of the Almighty God, the Searcher of hearts, he affureth and declareth his allowance of the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, promising faithfully to prosecute the Ends thereof, and to establish the same with the Presbyterian Government, and the whole Work of God in all his Dominions.* 3. That, having thus taken the Covenants, the King is presented to the people and their willingness, to have him for their King, demanded; which they accordingly declare. 4. That he did also swear and take the Coronation Oath appointed and recorded *Parl. I. Iac. 6. cap. 8.* to which both the Covenants are most consonant *Promising by the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, to observe and keep the same.* 5. That when the Sword was put in his hand, he is desired to receive the same *For the Defence of the Faith of Jesus Christ, and of the true Religion according to the National & Solemn League and Covenant, and for the Ministrations of justice;* which he accordingly accepteth. 6. After the Crown is set upon his head, the peoples Obligatory Oath is proclaimed, *whereby they all swear by the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, to be true and faithful to the King,* According to the National and Solemn League and Covenant. 7. Being installed and set upon the Throne, he is exhorted by the Minister to remember, *That his Throne is the Lords Throne, 1 Chron. 29: ver. 23.* And being a Covenanted King set thereon, he ought under God to rule for God, and especially to beware that he make not the Lords Throne a throne of Iniquity, to frame mischief by a Law, even such mischievous Laws as have been enacted by his Predecessors destructive to Religion, and grievous to the Lords People. 8. The Nobles of the Land, being called one by one, and kneeling before the King on the Throne, and hol-

holding their hands betwixt his hands , did Swear by the Eternal and Almighty God who liveth and reigneth for ever , to be true and faithful to the King , According to the Nat , and Solemn League and Covenant . 9. The action is closed by a most solid and weighty exhortation , both to King and people to keep the Covenant , and beware of the breach of it , which is enforced by these fearful threatenings and instances recorded in the Scriptures of Truth , against Covenant breakers , particularly these , Nehem. 5: v. 13. where Nehemiah did shake his lap. saying , So God shake out every man from his house , and from his labour , that performed not this promise , even thus be he shaken out and empiued , & all the Congregation said , Amen . Ier. 34: ver. 18, 19, 20. & 21. And 2 Chron. 24: 23, 24. & 25. With this Pathetick application , That if they should break the Covenant , God would shake off the Kings Crown , and turn him from the Throne ; that he would shake the Nobles out of their possessions , and empty them of their Glory ; and would deliver both into the hands of their enemies who seek their life ; That breach of Covenant and Rebellion against God was an old and continued Sin in the Kings house , which God had already severely punished : if therefore the King should not acknowledge Jesus Christ King of Zion , who is above him , but break this Covenant , Gods controversy against the Kings Family would be carried on unto the weakening , if not the overthrow of it . And lastly , both the King and Nobles are certified , that if the King and they who are engaged to support his Crown , shall conspire together against the Kingdom of Jesus Christ , both the supporters and the supported will fall together . This is that great Action , wherein almost all the Solemnities are so twisted with that sacred Bond , that the World must acknowledge , that never King and people under the Sun , became so expressly and strictly obliged both unto God , one to another , and amongst themselves , as we were and are by these most Sacred Oaths of the Holy Covenants , most indissolubly engaged .

The fourth and laſt Advantage, was that plenary and laſt Complement of all Securities whatſoever amongst men, viz. the Ratification of all these preceeding Treaties, Transactions, Engagements and Actions, concluded and enacted by the King, then having attained the Age of 21 Years compleat, and the Parliament fully and freely convened in the Moneth of June 1651: whereby the ſame did paſſ into a perpetual Law: And this Covenant which from the beginning was and is the moft firm and Indiſpенſible Oath of God, became at length the very Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, whereon all the Rights and Privileges either of King or People, are principally bottomed and ſecured.

This is the fair ſide of the Transactions and providences of these times, and the effects of the Lords favourable presence, and the conſequence of that Zeal which we have mentioned. O! that we had ſincereſly minded and walked agreeably to all these Engagements, ſurely our times ſhould have endured for ever: but ſeeing both our own backſlidings, and the Lord's withdrawing from us do evidently teſtify againſt us, let us aſcribe Righteouſneſs unto our God, that in the remembrance of all these Judgements wherewith he hath puniſhed us leſs than our iniquities deſerve, we may not only take unto our ſelves shame and conuſion of face, because we have ſinned againſt him, and thereby ſtop the mouth of all these blaſphemies and boastings of the Adverſaries of the Lord, and his Holy Covenant, which our Backſlidings haue ſo widelie opened; but in the thoughts of his faithfulness be encouraged to hope in his Mercy, and for the return of our Departed Glory, although we have rebelled againſt him.

The Principal Step of our Defection, and the only Riſe and Caufe of all our Sin and Calamity, we acknowledge to haue been no other, than that which is the condenmation of the World, that Light indeed came unto us, but we loved Darkneſs better than Light, because our deeds were evil.

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evil. For the Lord did cause His Gospel to shine amongst us, in as great power and purity as ever any Nation enjoyed, and by the Advantage of his own Holy Ministry and Government, and the accession of our manifold Covenants and Engagements, did beautify and secure the same unto us; And though that after along continuance of all these blessings, the Lord by the Ascendent power of his own Spirit and Glorious Presence, did bring the whole Land under these great convictions, mentioned in the conclusion of the League and Covenant. *of our not valuing the inestimable Benefit of the Gospel, nor endeavouring to receive Christ in our hearts, and walk worthy of Him in our lives.* The only duty and end of all our Covenants and Engagements, which is in effect God's greatest Delight and Glory in the World, and all our Felicity; And unto these unfained resolutions there annexed, *of Repentance and Amendment;* And lastly thought the Lord from Heaven had both plagued us for, and purged us from these fearful Apostacies and Defections, whereby men of corrupt minds, not holding the head and end of all things, even our Lord Jesus Christ, were both in the Years 1645. and 1648. soon turned aside from their steadfastness in the Covenant, and became Enemies unto God's own Work and Cause, and had therefore stirred us up to the Renewing of our Covenant with God in the Year 1648. with and after a most Solemn Acknowledgement both of the Causes and Evils of these Defections, and most serious detestation of, and resolution against both; Notwithstanding, we say, of all these things, Yet the great Sin and Evil of not valuing, receiving, and walking worthy of our Lord Jesus, and the not directing and improving the great Blessings of His Gospel, Ordinances, Covenants, Victories, & all other Benefits & Enjoyments bestowed on us, for the promoving of the Pleasure of our Lord, and the Establishing of his Kingdom, for the Salvation of Sinners, did still remain. Thence was it, that the generall and great Zeal which then appeared, was so suddenly contrac-

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ted to a very few, and much remitted in all: And that mens corruptions, turning former Professions into feigned pretensions, and causing many, (in place of the great and only end proposed) to minde Selfish Desigues, and Worldly advantages, the Lord was provoked to give up some to the prosecution of these base desires, unto which they had so quickly backsliden; And to abandon others to the delusion of an over credulous Charity: which two Evils did so far prevail in all the Transactions of these Times, that though the Over ruling Providence of the Most High, did bring forth thereof the Advantages which we have already mentioned; yet were Men thereby acted to pursue Treaties, over the belly of most signal Warnings and most pregnant Dissuasives to the contrary, and to conclude Agreements, and accept of Securities in the great Matters of God, and of his Work so long contended for, and far advanced, which no rational man not preferring airy words and professions, and Ink subscriptions, to plain refusal, visible reluctancies, manifest refilings, open counteractings, and strong and continued prejudices, would be satisfied with, in his own private matters of almost the meanest concernment. But though the Lord from heaven did at *Dumber*, testify against both this evil and sinful course, and the great Sin and wickedness that had procured it, and thereafter by many of His faithful Servants did give express Testimony & Warning against the same, yet it is still persisted in: And notwithstanding that by a new discovery, after all the assurance contained in the Declaration at *Dumfyrming* that could be imagined, the Lord did make it evident at *Clova*, that all these condescensions were only the constraints of Policy, the Backsliding and Delusion of these times did proceed, until, that under a pretence of Necessity, preferring the Arm of Flesh to the Almighty power and Favour of the Most High, and through the perswasion of a *Mock Repentance*, only agreeable unto that *Mock Treaty* whereon

whereon it depended, we were induced again to break the Lords Commandment and our own Engagement, in joyning with the People of these Abominations; to provoke the Lord to be angry, until he should consume us utterly without a remnant or escaping; and by partaking of their Sins, became apt & ready to partake of their judgments, which the Lord, by the hand of the Treacherous, did suddenly inflict upon us for all our treachery: And thereby, according to his Righteousness and great Faithfulness, as he had brought upon us the blessing; so he also brought upon us the curse of his holy Covenant; and the fears of our own Acknowledgement.

These were our Forsakings and Backslidings, which provoked the Lord also to forsake us, and at length to give us over unto, and leave us in the hands of our enemies; and to lay on our necks that long and heavy yoke of forraign Usurpation, under which, from the Year 1651. unto the Year 1660. we did so grievously groan. The remembrance of which things, doth necessarily oblige us to the Declaration of these things.

I. That as we desire heartily to resume these professions of unfeigned Humiliation (for the undervaluing of the precious Gospel and slighting of our Lord Jesus Christ) contained in our Holy Covenant, wherein all the Land without exception are and were so deeply concerned; so (although in the Narration of the procedure of our sinful and Woful Defection, the particular passages of Self seeking and Over credulous Delusion may import a narrower restriction, Yet) the Lord is our witness, that the pure motive of his Glory, and the Honor and Truth of his work and Covenant, without prejudice to the persons of any, far less of such, whom we are perswaded the Lord both did, and yet doth honour, to be instrumental in his Work, and faithful in his Covenant, (though neither in the former practice, or this present perswasion, we do agree) have induced us to this

this reflection : which we earnestly obteit, may be looked upon by all, rather as the matter of our mourning than of our censure.

2. That whatever love & sincere respect we retain for such of the Faithful , who (through the Holy and Wise Permission of the Sovereign Lord , by the influence of particular temptations , or of that general and powerful snare of an Evil Time ) were carried on to a Sinful Compliance with the Evil Courses thereof : Yet we are perswaded , that the remitting of that Zeal , sincerity and stedfastness , whereunto , in our Solemn Acknowledgement , upon the most powerful motives , we had then lately so seriously engaged our selves ; and the more Politick than Pious management of these Treaties and Transactions ; wherein the advancement of the Word of God , and prosecution of the Ends of the Covenant so highly pretended , could not sincerely and zealously be intended , by any imaginary security or sinful assistance thereby obtained ) but especially the relapsing unto that most sinful conjunction with the people of thele Abomination , so solemnly and lately repented for , and resolved against , (which , in stead of being salved , was , by the Constrained , Politick , Dissembled , and Formal Repentance then used , to the mocking of the God of Truth , & scorn of all our Holy Engagements , on all hands mostly aggravated and exaggerated ) these evils , we say , were the very foundations of this present Apostacy , & the grounds of the Lords controversy , which hath so long , and yet doth so grievously pursue this Poor Church and Nation . O ! that all men would yet at length , after all the evils and warnings which God hath sent amongst us , seriously consider their wayes , take unto themselves shame , and give unto God the glory before the decree bring forth our utter destruction and desolation . Who knoweth but the Lord would repent Himself for His servants , when He seeth our power is gone , and return ou high for his own

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Glory , and the Congregation of the poor that compass Him about , and render vengeance unto all his aduersaries ?

3. That neither the failing nor backsliding of many of the faithful , nor the wicked Hypocrisy & Disimulation practised on the other hand , in the carrying on , and concluding of these Treaties , whereby the King was brought under the bond of the Holy Covenant , doth lessen or annul his Obligation therein ; far less the Security , which the people , especially , such who know not these depths of Satan , did obtain thereby , for their warrant and confirmation ; Surely the greatest Aggravation of Perjury cannot annul the Sacred Obligation of an Oath ; nor will intended Falshood , loose the bond of Truth ; nor will vile Disimulation , and the most fearful mocking of God and the whole World , deliver from his Holy Justice and Jealousy , who is a terrible and swift witness against , and avenger of all such abominations . Did the wicked dissimulation and rebellious heart of the Children of Israel wherewith they entered in Covenant with the Lord *Deut. 29: 10, to 28.* liberate them from the sin of Apostacy , and all these fearful plagues threatened against it ? Did not that Dissimulate promise and engagement of the remnant of the Jewes , made to *Jeremiah cap. 42: 20.* rather hasten & aggravat the punishment of their disobedience , *v. 21. and 22.* All who love Truth or fear an Oath , do no doubt abhorre such wickednes . But the main objection is , that these condescensions were extorted by Force and Fear , which doth excuse the Disimulation , and annul the Oath . We shall not here insist to clear and refute this cavillation , which others have so fully answered : For as to the position , *That neither force nor fear do cause to cease the obligation of an Oath in a matterly Indifferent , much less , Holy , Righteous and true* ( as the matter of the Covenant is ) all yeeld . But that neither Force , Fear , nor any other indirect wa-

can be alleag'd for the annulling of these engagements , both the preceeding Treaties , the just and necessary reasons , and all other circumstances do most evidently confirm ; So that the whole World may justly wonder , that these men , who both in profession and practice , do plainly evidence their profane indifference , and regardless violation of all Oaths , wherein Interests doth not concurre , Should by the manifest Patronizing of all Perfidy ( whereof no instance can be adduced in the breach of any treaty , wherein the stronger and weaker did ever compose any matter of Right , which is not more justifiable ) and the shameful disgracing of the King himself , ( whom neither Conscience , Honor , Honesty , nor the example of his Father could teach the constancy of the most mean and abject of his Subjects ,) should plead & pretend to rational pretext for the present Apostacy , and not rather consent themselves , to say with the King in one of his Declarations , emitted shortly after his return to England , *that it is well known by what abusive meanes His Majesty was adduced to make & publish that Declaration at Dumfermling* , without any more special condescension , which is impossible . But oh ! that the World did also know & consider all the reiterated Oaths & Subscriptions , high & Solemn Attestations . Free and unrequired Professions Fearful Execrations , made before God , Angels and Men , both in Publick , upon the Throne , under the crown , in plain Parliament , and also in Private Conferences , which many yet alive can sufficiently attest ; by which this poor Church & Nation was insnared , & precipitated into all the Sin & Misery , that since the Year 1650. unto this day , hath afflicted us . However the Lord , who seeth & heareth , doth also consider , to require it , and the violence done to himself in many of his suffering members , who partly even in the conscience of the very things , which they that are mostly therein concerned , do mock at , dare not prostitute their

Consciences in an ambulatory Compliance , with the wicked Apostacy in these times.

4. We cannot but observe , that after the prevailing , and during the time of the *English usurpation* , these only , for the most part , remained mindful of , & faithful to the King , who were faithful and stedfast in the Covenant ; when as these , who formerly did , and at present do pretend so highly for the King , in prejudice both to Jesus Christ , and the **Holy Covenant** , did in their slavish compliance , abandon all Allegiance and Honesty , to complement the then Powers , for the promoving of their own selfish designes , which is the only bond of all their Engagements , and rule and aim of all their Actions . And though many of them do now pretend to have been sufferers , yet it is well known , that if they had had the half of these temptations , which the Faithful upon the account of their allegiance did constantly resist , the Kings Interests for their part , had been for ever forgotten , as it was by many of them openly renounced and abjured ; And that the main reason of their then seeming and pretended Loyalty , was the improbability of credit with , and acceptance from the Usurpers , because of their known Naughtiness .

Having thus declas'd the Lords great Work and Glorious presence amongst us , in all these Mercies and Judgements which he shewed upon us , and these strange Vicissitudes and Alternations , sometimes of his grace & power , engaging us with heart , and hand unto himself , sometimes of our own hearts wickedness and Unstedfastness , again causing us to apostatize and backslide from his **Holy command and Covenant** , which , during the space of an hundred years from the Year 1560 , have in the **Holy and wise Providence of God** passed over us ; that by all these great Temptations , which our eyes have seen , and the Signs and wonders which he hath wrought , we might know , that the **Lord is our God , and Jesus Christ our**

our King; and that by all these things, he only went about to establish us for a peculiar People unto himself, in the glorious light of his Truth, and Beauty of his holiness, far exalted above many other Nations. We are now come to the Year 1660, wherein though the Lord was pleased according to his glorious Sovereignty, by his own immediate hand, to break the yoke of our Oppressors, restore our Covenanted King, Lawes and Liberties and Interests, not only to cede unto, but unanimously to conspire for this blessed Restitution; yet how evidently hath it since appeared, that the Lord had not given unto us an heart to perceive, eyes to see, not ears to hear, unto that very day.

We need not here resume the Kings most Solemn and Indissoluble Engagements, which we have so lately mentioned, nor add that after Worcester fight, and from beyond Sea, he did confirm by private letters to persons of unquestionable credit, that he was, and through the Grace of God would continue, the same man that he had declared himself to be in Scotland; nor that it was the conscience of that clause of the Covenant, relating to the maintenance of his Person and Authority, which during the times of Usurpation, did retain the fence and love of his Interest, so fresh and deeply rooted in mens hearts; Nor that the publick owning, publishing and reprinting thereof by the then Parliament in England in March 1660, was the first publick Act that durst or did appear in his favours; Nor lastly need we remember that Letter written and directed by the King, after his return to the Presbytery of Edinburgh and this whole Church, wherein he declares himself resolved, *by the grace of God to protect and preserve the Government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by Law without violation;* Seeing that though according to its then State and posture, such a Solemn and Publick Assurance might have been reputed a perpetual Security; yet the whole strain of the Letter, is such as tendeth on-

ly to divide the whole Ministry , and to abuse the greater part of them : And particularly , the altering & suppressing of that most fixed and certain ground of his Engagement , even the Word of God and the Holy Covenant , for that of *Law* , which is but frail and moveable , did even then discover to many , that latent Dissimulation and Instability , whereby others were either weakly or willingly deluded . The thing we observe is , that both King and peoples Obligations were not then greater , than the oportunity appeared to be most happy , for the accomplishing of the *Lords Work* , the making of his name great and one in all these Nations , and the Nations happy and high above all Nations in name and in praise , & the establishing of the King & his posterity upon the Throne in glory and prosperity . & that the owning of , & adhering unto the Solemn League & Covenant , our *Magna Charta* of Religion and Righteousness , had both in the perswasion of all sober men , and even in the conviction of the greatest part of our Adversaries , infallibly produced , & effectuated all these blessings .

But Oh ! how suddenly and strangely was this blessed appearance overclouded , the expectation of all the Godly disappointed , the joy and peace of all corrupted & marred , and this Land reduced unto this present so woful desolation and sore distres , which though the groans , tears , and the Blood of the Persecuted , the cry of Violence and Oppression , the Desolation and Profanation of Gods Sanctuary , the reigning power of Darkness , the Pride , Rage and Blasphemy of Perjury and all Profanity . which hath filled the Land , and the dreadful Wrath of the most Holy and great God , which both burneth round about , and hangeth over it , do sufficiently make manifest , yet for our greater upstirring to consider and lay to heart , that all these evils are come upon us , because our God is not amongst us , and what theheat of this great Anger meaneth , and also for the clearing of the Innocency

cency and Testimony of the Lords sufferers, we do shortly exhibit the violent course of this precipitant Defection.

The King being returned & re-established in May 1660. the Antichristian Spirit of Prelacy, ever enemy to the Gospel and Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, and the Holy Covenant whereby the same are promoted, taking occasion from these many troubles and confusions, which the opposition and false-heartedness of many in the same Covenant, did principally provoke the Lord to inflict upon the Islands, and advantage from the proneness of mens power to decline unto Tyranny, and their corruption to all licentiousness; did first most falsely and atrociously slander the Covenant as the Bond of all Iniquity, Rebellion and Confusion; which prejudice being enforced with many apparent advantages that then did attend it: did so suddenly and strongly spread and root it self in the hearts of our Nobles, Rulers, and the generality of the Land, that, without so much as seriously reflecting upon their former so Solemn Engagements, Sacred Oath, Publick Professions, Vigorous Actings and Appearances for the Cause and Covenant of the Lord, without any consideration of Conscience, Honesty, or Honor, which so great and sudden a mutation from their former wayes, though they had been as wicked, as in effect they are true and righteous, did certainly call for in sober and earnest Repentance, they with the concurrence of such vile Sycophants and treacherous persons in the Church and Ministry, as the worldly wealth and power of Prelacy had wickedly debauched, set themselves in a most determined and resolute Fury, whereinto all their former zeal for God is by the malice of Satan suddenly corrupted, by the plain force of Power, and colour of Authority, whereunto they had now attained, to deface and overturn the whole Work of God, raze its foundations, annul His Covenants, repeal all Acts made in their favours, incapaciate and persecute all opposers, and lastly to efface and dissolve all sense and bond of Conscience,

ence, by which this fearful course of Apostacy, might be in the least, checked or controlled.

We shall not here premise any thing, for clearing of the Unlawfulness of the succeeding Acts and Deeds, whereby this Apostacy was carried on, and for the loosing and freeing of us from all obligation of Obedience thereto, or Compliance therewith: Any who can but suppose, that not only a whole Parliament but also all men are, and have often been found liars; and compare impartially the things present with the things that are past, must necessarily conclude, that all these Acts and Deeds of Defection were and are Gross Perjury and Wickedness, and that so long as that maxim shall hold, *that we ought rather to obey God than Man*, they can never be binding either in Conscience or Reason.

Seeing therefore that the only Rule of these Counteractings and overturnings, was to destroy that which the Lord had so gloriously planted, and to loose that whereunto we were and are indissolubly obliged, referring our selves to what is already said, for vindicating the Lords Work and our Holy Covenants, we proceed to lay forth the Sinfulness and Wofulness of this Defection, as follows

1. In July 1660. by immediate clandestine warrants, without any cause signified or citation given, the Lord Marques of Argyle and some other Gentlemen, ( who were conceived to have been instrumental in the former Work of God, and that they might be of influence for obstructing of the then designed overthrow thereof (were attatched and committed close Prisoners.

2. In August 1660. the Committee of Estates appointed by the Parliament 1651. being again set down, the very first day of their meeting, do violently seise upon several faithful Ministers, peaceably and quietly assembled together, and employed in the drawing up of a monitory Letter to the King, in the most rational and dutiful manner, and for the most important and necessary Ends, of Gods Glory,

Glory, and the Kings service, that can be imagined, as the Letter it self set down at large in the *Apologetick Narration* doth testify. And though this duty and employment was no other, than what the meanest subject in the most private capacity might, and all were indispensably obliged to have done; yet those Ministers and one Gentleman with them, are therefore instantly without hearing, committed Prisoners.

3. This Committee proceeding to prepare for the succeeding Parliament, (which was all its work and design) the Parliament siteth down the 1 day of January. Where, having taken the Oath of Supremacy, without respect to its due limitation contained in the 114. *Act. 1a. 6. Parl. 12. 1592.* then standing unrepealed; and exalting the Kings prerogative, upon the alleged Warrant of the *Word of God and Laws of the Land* (but in effect directly contrary to both) above all Offices, Parliaments, Laws, Leagues, Conventions, Peace and War; and likewise upon meer assertions and allegances in place of declaring upon known and certain grounds [which is all that any Parliament can lawfully do] directly Innovating the Fundamental Law and Constitution of the Kingdom, and thereby making the Kings Throne, the foundation of all the succeeding Perjury and Apostacy; They spoil and divest, first, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and then the *National Covenant, Presbyterian Government*, and the whole Work of God, of all legal warrant and Authority; Declaring all *Acts and Practices made and standing in favours thereof, to be void and null*: And by the same great *Act* *recessory*, they revive and reinforce all the corruptions and Superstitions of Crossing, Kneeling and the like, introduced by any Parliament since the Reformation. As the *Acts* of the first Session of the Parliament do clearly testify.

Although that these *Acts* have been and are, both in themselves and in their effects, just cause of great astonishment

ment and mourning to all the Faithful in the Land; yet when we remember that height of Wickedness and Profanity that then abounded, and the false, flattering, & perjurious Sermons & practices, by which the Parliament was thereunto instigated, but most of all, that Act that then passed for an Anniversary Thanksgiving; wherein, as if we had been delivered to commit all this great Wickedness, the Spirit and Work of the Lord are heinously blasphemed and calumniated, as the only Author and Cause of all the Blood, Bondage, Usurpation, Rebellion, Rapine, Violence and other Evils, that either the malice and wickedness of men had caused, or God in his Righteous Judgement had therefore permitted or inflicted; and the Ranversing of our Blessed Reformation, Holy Covenants, and the Righteous Laws whereby they were established, accounted the Restitution of Religion, Righteousness, and Liberties; And the 29 of May, as most Auspicious, appointed for the yearly commemoration thereof. [a day, the profane Institution whereof cannot be better demonstrated; than by its more profane observance and celebration ever since practised] These things, we say, being considered, do justly add horror to our astonishment and trembling unto our mourning. But that their practice might be also consonant to their Acts and Statutes, and, by cutting off or laying aside its most eminent Opposers, the return of Prelacy might be more effectually promoted, in the same Session of Parliament, not only was that Innocent & Faithful one, Mr Guthry, (singled out & signally honoured by God, to bear testimony to the Kingdom of His Son Jesus Christ, His Cause & Covenant, [for no other fault than his faithfulness therein, and his Declining the Kings usurped Authority in prejudice of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, & the privileges of his Church, clearly warranted by 14. Act. Parl. 12. I<sup>e</sup>. 6. then standing unrepeal'd, & by a great cloud of faithful Witnesses, who in like manner did testify against

gainst this Usurpation) cruelly slain and put to death. But also, under the colour of certain Epidemick crimes, wherein the Sovereignty of Divine Providence, more than any mans malice, had involved the whole Land, others who had been eminent in the Work of God, particularly the Marquess of Argyle, were condemned to death, and forfeited; And several other Faithful Ministers, besides these who were at first imprisoned by the Committee of Estates, were without any cause signified, imprisoned, confined, or otherwise vexed and incapacitated.

4. The rise and reestablishment of this Antichristian Prelacy being thus prepared, in the interval after this first Session of Parliament, the King nominateth and presenteth Bishops; & four of them being called to Court, are there Reordained and Consecrated: And that in such a manner, as doth clearly inferre their disowning & renouncing their former Ministry, and their Warrant and Mission therunto. In consequence whereof, all the Ordinary meetings of Presbyteries & Synods are discharged, until they should of new be licenced and Authorized thereto by the Bishops now nominated and appointed, and, to the effect that matters might the better succeed, several of our Faithful Ministers, upon groundless suspitions, and for refusing of the Oath of Supremacy arbitrarily and rigorously imposed, without so much as admitting such qualifications, as no Christian ought or can deny, are some of them Banished & others confined.

5. The second Session of this last Parliament sitting in May 1662, by their first Act, they restore and reestablish Prelacy in all it's pretended Rights, Dignities and Priviledges, but in effect, in its real Usurpations and Corruptions, And for the better settling thereof, and evident declaring to the World, how Erastian and Antichristian this Woful Government is, both in its Rise, Designs and Effects, as by this Act, the Restitution thereof is expressly founded upon the King's Supremacy, as being an inherent Right in the Crown

Crown for the disposal of the external Government of the Church. So it also declared, that whatever the King shall determine w<sup>t</sup> advice of the Bishops and such of the Clergy as he shall nominate in the external Government of the Church, shall be valid & effectual, without any other Proviso than that the same be conſiſtent with the Laws of the Realm. But the Absolute Complement of all Wickednes and the Height of Ulurpation, above all that ever the Papacy it ſelf aspired unto, is that which followeth, whereby the King and Parliament, for clearing all ſcruples which may occurre from former *Act*s and Practices, do rescind all former *Act*s, by which, the ſole and only power of Jurisdiction within this Church, doth stand in the Church, and in the Meetings and Assemblies thereof; and all *Act*s of Parliament and Council, which may be interpreted to have given any Church power, Jurisdiction, or Government to the Officebearers of the Church, their reſpective meetings, other than that which acknowledgeth a dependence upon, and ſubordination to the Sovereign Power of the King as ſupream, and is to be regulated and authorized in the exercise thereof by the Bishops, who are to put order to Eccleſiaſtick matters, and to be accountable to the King for their Administration; And the foreſaid 114. *Act Parl.* 12. *q. 6.* whereby the Priviledges, Power and other eſſentiall Censures given by God to the ſpirituall Office bearers in His Church, and warranted by His Word are ratified, is even in fo far and totally caſſed and reſcinded. And that the World may know how preſumptuous and absurd this Ulurpation is, which cannot be juſtly conceived without an instance of its effects, we here ſubjoyn that 4 *Act. Sess.* 3. of the ſame *Parliament* for the conſtitution of a National Synod, wherein the King is made ſovereignly and properly to conſtitute this Assembly, both as to the Appointmetn of its Members Conſtituent, and of its conſtant President; the absolute regulation of things there to be proposed (which are declared to be only ſuch as He ſhall pleafe to ſignify,) the determination and li- mitation

imitation of its Decisions, which are to be agreed in by the President as well as the major part, and providing that they be not contrary to the Prerogative or the Laws of the Realm, And lastly, as to the necessity of the King's presence in person or by his Commissioner, and of his Ratification and Approbation, without which no Act or Deed is to be of any force. Now let the World consider, what he could have done more in the constitution and regulation of his own Court of Exchequer: And if he hath not done all, as to the constitution of this Court, (immediately depending upon our Lord Jesus Christ and his sole Authority) which He Himself hath done or possibly could do; by what warrant or rule, He who is King of Kings will require. We shal not here stand to examine these Acts according to former Laws, Oaths and Engagements, hereby most fearfully violated and contemned; This is a strain of wickednes above all that former times could imagine. O! that God would speak to the Authors, but not in his wrath, and as he hath set his only Son upon his holy hill of Zion; so he would cause them to fear his displeasure, that they may yet be wise and instructed to kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and they perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Surely to define, that the sole Power and Jurisdiction of this Church, doth not stand within the same, but in some thing without beside our Lord Jesus; and that the same is fountain'd in, and derived from the King; and that all Church-Officers in all Church matters, are accountable to him, who is neither thereto Gifted nor Called, is to set the King upon our Lord Jesus his Throne, and a high derogation from, and reflection upon him, who has builded the Temple of the Lord and bears the Glory, and sits and rules both as King and Priest upon his Throne; Who, more worthy than Moses, was faithful and perfect as a Son over His own House; and therefore did not leave his Church destitute, of any necessary and proper Officer or Assister, when neither King nor Prince was so much as members thereof; and lastly,

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lastly, it's a plain Perversion in stead of Performance, that Promise made to the Church, *Isai. 49. 23.* That *K* should be its *Nursing Fathers*, where in place of Dominion there Submission in expressly enjoyned, *they shall bow down thee with their face toward the Earth.* We know that this emp Notion of External Policy, is vainly pretended to color the matter: But seeing whatsoever can be meanned by external Policy, even as to outward decency and Order, either particularly determined by our Lord Himself and his blessed Apostles, or under the definition of General and Evident Rules left unto the Churches arbitriment, whereby the King ( being no Church-Officer ) upon a double account is clearly excluded; and seeing that under the pretence of this External Policy, the grearest and most superstitiou Novations in the pure Worship of God, and the greatest Corruptions and Abuses both by the appointment of new Officers in the Church of Christ without His own warrant and the usurping and perverting of the Power of Spiritual Censures in the Government of Gods House, may be and have been introduced. we doubt not, but all rational men do see the delusions of such vain pretences. And certainly since the *Act* it self doth proceed, to grant the King all the Power in and over both Ecclesiastick Causes and Persons that can be imagined, it would be but ordinary ingenuity in our Adversaries, plainly to assert, that the King is the Great Apostle and Vicegerent of our Lord Jesus Christ, in and over His House: Although they should not only appear herein distitute of any better warrant, than this present *Act of Parliament*; But most plainly to justify all the Usurpation, that ever the Pope or Antichrist can be charged with.

6. Bishops being thus restored and admitted to sit and give voice in Parliament, this Mixture and the power of their Antichristian Spirit doth quickly exert it self: And without regard to the nature of Parliamentary and all Civil Powers ( which are no wayes conversant about things and persuasions only Internal, and meerly appertaining to con-

conscience, or to the Word of God, which is the ground and warrant, upon which all Power whatsoever being only Declarative, in matters of this kind, ought certainly and expressly to proceed,) they procure a Dogmatick Act declaring these Positions, *That it is lawful to Subjects for Reformation or necessary Self defence to enter into Leagues, or take up Arms against the King*, and such like, to be RebELLious and treasonable; and particularly *that the National Covenant, as it was explained in the Year 1638, and the Solemn League and Covenant were, and are in themselves Unlawful Oaths, and were taken by, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Kingdom, against the Fundamental Law & Liberties thereof.* (Which neither they nor all the invention of Hell is able to condescend upon or instruct) and therefore, out of the plenitude of their power, (as much as ever any Pope pretended to) they loose the Obligation of Conscience, and free the Subjects of their Engagements: And further, to compleat this their Wickedness, they appoint a Declaration of this High Impiety, to be signed by all in Publick Trust, that none may be admitted to, or exercse the same, except they receive in their right hand or in their foreheads this their accursed mark. *O! Lord our God, thou art of purer eyes than to behold Evil, and canst not look on Iniquity: Wherefore lookeſt thou on them that deal treacherously, and holds thy tongue when the wicked devour the man that is more righteous than he? Yet surely O Lord thou hast ordained them for judgement, and O mighty God, thou hast established them for correction.* Can the World believe, that a whole Nation in its most National Capacity, including King, Parliament and the body of the People, should after most clear and evident convictions, and signal Manifestations of the Glory and presence of God, in the most important and holy Concernments of all Truth and Righteousness, most solemnly (as it were) to day engage themselves by Oath unto the Lord, and to morrow, without so much as seriously rememberring Gods Holiness and ter-

terrible Jealousy, either against these that break his Holy Covenant, or wickedly profane his Name by taking it in vain, at once without any reason or probable motive rendered therefore, despise, contemn and trample the same Holy and Great Engagements under foot, and others to the like Wickedness and Impiety? If this tend unto, or shall prove effectual for the preservation of his Majesties Person, Authority, and Government, as this Act and Statute is intituled, then surely he may break this Covenant and prosper. But this is not all, for these men supposing by this Act, that the Work of God was utterly subverted and overthrown, they provide also against the fears of its revival, by declaring *all such gatherings and Petitions that were used in the beginning of the late Troubles*, though the same be no other than that common privilege of all men, which Slavery it self (much less Subjection) doth not take away, *to be unlawful and seditious*: And further do Statute and enact *that no person by Writing, Printing, Praying, Preaching, or malicious and advised speaking, express or publish any words or sentences to stirre up the people to the dislike of the Kings Prerogative and Supremacy, or of the Government of the Church by Bishops, or justify any of the deeds, Actions or things declared against by this present Act.* By all which, not only the Security of Religion and the Liberty of the Subject is utterly subverted, by prohibiting of the lawful, most necessarily and only means of asserting thereof, in case the same should be invaded; but we are also denied and prohibited the licence, so much as to mourn and pour out our prayer unto God, either apart or one with another, for all this Horrid Apostacy, or our heavy persecutions for non compliance therewith; So that the most innocent of all remedies, Petitioning and Prayers; & also the meanest and last of all comforts, even the Tears and Complaints of the afflicted, (which God and Nature hath hitherto placed beyond the reach of all cruelty) are now severely forbidden.

7. By the third *Act* of the same Session of Parliament, under the pretence that Patronages, being the just and proper right of these concerned, were unjustly abolished in the Year 1649. notwithstanding that the same were only, in so far as they were burthensome to the Church of God, & obstructive to the Work of the Gospel, then abrogated; and in lieu thereof, the civil Interest and benefit of Patrons more amply extended and secured; yet on purpose that they might cast out and remove such faithful Ministers, as notwithstanding all the wicked Acts and practices then made, for the overthrow of the Work of God and Presbyterial Government, might have by their stedfastness (at least) put some demur to this impetuous Defection; they statute and ordain, that all Ministers who entered to the Cure of any Parish, in or since the Year 1649. have no right unto, nor shall possess any benefice or stipend for that same curr nt Year 1662. or any Year following, but decern their Kirks and Benefices I<sup>s</sup>so Jure vacant: And then under pretext of favour, they clearly discover the design and snare intended, in declaring that every such Minister who shall obtain the Patrons Presentation and Bishops Collation, betwixt and the twentieth of September then next following, shall have right to his Church and Benefice, as if at his entry he had been lawfully presented, otherwise the Act to stand in force against him. By which means this same Parliament in their first Session having enacted, that no Patron should present, or Minister Presented have right, except they should first take the Oath of Supremacy, the very body & strength of the Ministry of this Church were reduced to this sore *Dilemma*, either to take that Oath of Supremacy, which both by express Acts and clear Practices, was now declared and interpreted to be the very height of Papacy, and root of Prelacy, and by accepting of Collation, to acknowledge these perfidious and usurping Prelates, or to lose and be cast out of the Ministry, like as, *de facto*, 300. and upwards of the faithful Ministers, were by virtue of this

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*Act*

Act shortly thereafter ou ted and violented from the Exercise of their Ministry.

8. The Prelates not having attained their full intent by this last Act, do further prosecute their design of casting out, and incapacitating all such as either remained or might rise up to oppose their wickedness, and therefore they procure, 1. an Act of Parliament without either Citation or Reason alleged or rendered, against the faithful Ministers of Edinburgh, (who, being eminent lights, were also from the advantage of the place apprehended as more eminent opposers,) discharging them of their Ministry, and ordaining them to remove themselves and families out of the City, after the 8. of September then next to come. 2. By the fourth Act of the same second Session of Parliament, to the effect that not one faithful Minister might remain to witness against their Detection; they statute and enact, *that all Ministers, for Testifying their acknowledgement of, and compliance with the present Government by Prelates, keep and observe the Bishops Visitations and Diocesan Assemblies, and be assistant to them in all Acts of Church Discipline, as they shall be required, under the pain for the first fault of Suspension from Office and Benefic, and of Deposition if they should not amend.* We are not here to redargue such lukewarm Neuters, as, by the subtlety of a vain distinction deceiving and being deceived, under the pretence of innocent submission, do actually Assist, Partake, and Comply with that wicked Prelacy, which they are sworn to Extirpat; and at best, can only pretend to keep the Covenant by that *desp'able Neutrality*, which they have therein abjured; Their growing Backsliding will quickly declare and free them of this imputation of Neutrality. Our regrate is for the faithfull, who are thus by the Perjury and violence of such, who of all men ought most to patronize them, not only ou ted of the Ministry by Deprivation from Benefice or stipend, but declared by a Parliament, a Civil Court, deposable from their Spiritual

tual Office, as inconsistently and absurdly, as if the same Secular persons, who were authors thereof, had by the same Act stept into their pulpits. 3. By the same last Act, in imitation of Julian the Apostat, who found not a more effectual and Devilish invention for suppressing and destroying Christianity than the shutting up of their Schools and Colledges for learning, they ordain for the poysoning of all the springs and fountains thereof, that none teach or rule in an University or Colledge, except they both take the Oath of Supremacy, and submit to, and own the Government of Prelacy, and that none be permitted to teach any School, or to be a Pædagogue to Children without the Prelats licence. 4. By the same Act, they not only prohibit any to Preach in publick or in families without the Prelats licence; but advancing and pursuing their malice and persecution unto these very Sanctuaries of rest and refuge, which even in former times, (when the proud were called happy, & such as wrought wickedness were set up, yea they that tempted God were delivered,) the Lord did provide and reserve for his Own, wherein they that feared him, & thought upon his Name, spoke often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard it; they under the pretence, lest the People should thereby be alienat from their *Lawfull Powers* (as they call them) who in effect are Wolves and Thieves, discharge all Private Meetings in houses for Religious Exercises, which might tend to the prejudice of the publick worship in Churches: Under which qualification, all Christian Fellowship and Society, amongst such who cannot overcome their just aversion from these Churches and publick Meetings, which these Apostat Prelats have prophaned and polluted, & whereunto they have wickedly intruded, are prohibited and reproached.

9. By a Proclamation emitted this second Session of Parliament, they again enjoin the observance of that Anniversary *Holy Day*, the 29. of May, even the Moneth and

Day which they had devised of their own heart for a feast unto the People : And to the effect they might the more infallibly attain their purpose of Outing all faithfull Ministers , they subjoin the certification of Deprivation of Benefice, or Stipend against all such who should not , (because in conscience could not) observe it, like as *de facto*, severalls , who could not in conscience satisfy themselves either as to the Authority or Reason of the appointment , are therefore without Citation or hearing , Outed of their Benefices and Stipends for that Year ; and the same either immediatly ingathered by the common Collector , or gifted to some other.

10. In the same Session of Parliament , pretending that the whole Land , (a few only excepted,) were notonly and heinously involved in the crimes of Treason and Leke-Majesty , through no other cause nor occasion , than ou most Necessary, Righteous , and Lawful entering into the Solemn League and Covenant , and prosecuting the holy ends thereof , once so signally owned and countenanced by the Lord, and so fully Authorized by all the Law and Security that can be imagined (for , as for the English Usurpation, few were guilty of Compliance therewith , who were not also most forward in this Apostacy , and the very vilest and worst of such had been declared an honest man by an express and particular Act of the same Parliament) they appoint a packed close Committee , wherein generally the faithfull to the number of about 800 , (not adding a hundred more, who by private resentment , or upon some other prejudice were listed in this roll) without citation of any cause signified , or any manner of trial taken , were most arbitrarily Fined , and for the most part in such pecuniary mulcts and summs, as it pleased the malicious suggestions of the delators to impose , and in many particulars so absurdly , that sometimes the same person was found twice fined under diverse stiles in diverse Shires , and others were left blanck either in the Name or Surname , who might be filled

filled up either for one person or another , as the best conjecture should determine ; and others were fined , who were dead long before , or were Infants , and Minors under age , and others who to this day could never be found . If this be the righteous judgement which the Lord doth require , let the world declare . Surely this Act is such as hath no precedent nor fellow , except that other Act of *Eilleting* , whereof as the Power and Interest of some persons against whom it was intended , have by an afterAct sufficiently discovered its Irregularity and absurdity ; so untill the like discovery as to other Acts may be obtained . it may evidently enough declare what manner of Power and Reason did over-rule this Parliament : But these two Acts being past , the Parliament proceed to declare by their Act of *Indemnity* the Kings special Grace and Goodness , in pardoning such whom only the Parliaments own Apostacy , and unparalleled Rebellion against the God of Heaven , made criminal , excepting for the most part only such who were most Innocent .

11. This Session of Parliament being ended , the Council go about the execution of the Acts therein concluded , especially against Ministers not obtaining Presentations , and by their Act and Proclamation at Glasgow emitted , the 1. day of October 1662. they command all such Ministers to remove themselves forth of their respective Parishes , betwixt and the --- day of November then next ensuing , discharging them thereafter to exercise any part of their Ministerial Function within the same . what and how great the iniquity and rigour of this Act is , we will not stand to declare . Certainly , he who commanded his Apostles to pray that their flight might not be in the Winter , did regard and doth remember the great distres which many poor families then sustained , who , being deprived of livelyhood , turned out of doors , indigent and very numerous , might according to the cruelty of their adversaries have starved and perished . We need not here insist upon the particular steps , whereby

the restless jealousies of these wicked Prelats , did urge forward and advance this Persecution , by their impre-  
trating of reiterate Acts and Proclamations , until they obtained that last Act and Proclamation , concluding and adjudging all these Ministers unto such a nice and imposs-  
ible Confinement , which not only the necessity of hu-  
mane frailty , and its dependance upon many indispen-  
sible conveniences , do render more rigid and intolera-  
ble , than the most strict imprisonment , and the most barbarous banishment ; but also the most curious skill of the most exact Geographer can scarce make practicable . It is enough for us to note , that having , by a posterior Proclamation , extended the same pains unto all Ministers outlawed upon whatsoever ground of non-conformity to this present course of Apostacy , (in which condition all the faithfull Ministers in *Scotland* , a very few excepted . are included , ) there were never so many Innocent and Faith-  
ful Ministers , in any Christian Church at once and for such a cause reduced to such hardships , fears , and uncertainties , and that by such persons , who not only are as deeply and solemnly sworn and engaged as they are , in the same Cause and Covenant , for which they suffer , but by such , who once (some of them at least) appeared to have had the zeal of God , so that if it had been possible they would have pluckt out their own eyes , and have given them to such , whose Enemies they now are , only because they tell them the truth : Such is the feartull snare and prevailing Power of Apostacy ; but God seeth and telleth their wanderings , and putteth all their tears into his bottle . Having , because of the necessary con-  
nection of these things , thus represented them together , we return to the third Session of the same Parliament , and its Acts . Where

12. By the first Act thereof , they ratify the former Act anent Ministers , who entered in , & since the year 1649 , and such who keep not the Diocesian meetings , and

and do recommend to the privy Council the effectual execution thereof, and to call such Ministers, who dare to preach in contempt of that Act, to be punished as Seditious persons, and also to be careful to remove and dispossess such as, should be Suspended or Deprived for non conforming, declaring that if they thereafter presume to exercise their Ministry, they should be punished as Seditious persons. Thus, in the height of Perfidy and Violence, men under the pretext of abused and perverted Authority, proceed to dare & presume against God, their own Consciences and all their Sacred and Indissoluble Oaths and Engagements, and to persecute such for preaching, who, standing stedfast therein, & having a dispensation of the Gospel committed unto them, by him who is King in Zion and higher than the Kings of the Earth, may & ought to contemn the menaces of vain Man, in regard of that heavy and severe wo sounding in their ears, if they preach not the Gospel; But the Act doth further proceed, to require of all, a due Acknowledgement of, and hearty Compliance with the Kings Government Ecclesiastical and Civil, and therefore to ordain and declare, that who ever shall ordinarily and wilfully withdraw and absent themselves, from the ordinary Meetings for divine Worship in their own Churches on the Lords day, whether upon the account of Popery or other Disaffection, shall incurre, each Yeoman the loss of a fourth (or under) of his moveables, each Burgess the loss of his liberty and Burgeship with the fourth of his moveables, and concludes with a reference to the Council for further punishment, and more effectual execution, like as in order hereunto the Council by several Proclamations since, have so much intended the severity of this Act, that every Parish instead of having a Lawful Pastor, is now enslaved to a Graceless, Violent Hireling as its Lord and Master, and to the extortions of Souldiours appointed for his Executioners and Exactors.

We shall not here debate the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of the Obedience here required, only for the vin-

dication of many thousands of the Faithful, who by their sufferings have born Testimony aganist this Act; we add,

1. that waving the ordinary and captious manner of proposing the question in the terms of *Hearing or not Hearing*, which strictly taken, are not the subject thereof, we are assured that none seriously pondering the obligation of the Oath of God, *sincerely, really, and constantly all the dayes of our life to endeavour the extirpation of Prelats and their dependants*, but they will acknowledge, that the owning of, and submitting to the Apostat Curats according to this Act as our Ministers, is most diametricallly opposite thereto: Can we Lawfully own such whom we are bound to abhorre? Or submit to such whom we are bound to extirpate? Surely this were to rebuild what we have destroyed.

2. That though some nimble Sophisters, who fear not after vowes to make inquiry, can and have swallowed both Owning and Submitting, as not repugnant to the duty of Extirpation, yet, seeing the direct contrary thereof, is by the terms themselves very significantly imported, and that these terms were for this express cause and design particularly elected and made choice of by the Parliament, for ranversing of the Obligation of the holy Covenant, no sober man will be tempted by their delusion to think, either that Owning and Submitting signify no more than simple Submitting, or that that Active Assenting and Complying Submission here mean'd, is no more than that Still and Passive Submission, unto which men by the force of inevitable necessity, and against their wills are oftentimes constrained.

3. That whoever pretending to enter into the Ministry, doth presumptuously contemn and despise the sacred Rule and Order of Entry appointed by the great Shepherd, cannot be reputed to enter by the *Door*, nor to be so much as Externally by him Sent or Called: But such as do enter by gross and palpable Perjury and wicked Violence and Intrusion, do without question contemn the sacred Rule and Order of Gods

Gods Word, so that to admit such to be so much as Externally Called were to make the God of Order the Author of Confusion , and him who is the *Truth* , the favourer of Perjury. We know that this notion of an *External call* is conceited by many , to be no other thing , than the performance of such Rites and Solemnities , as are prescribed to the Admission of a Minister , done by such a Person or Persons , on whom the like hath been performed ; but seeing that by many instances of gross Disorder and Violence , ( which are obvious for any man to suppose,) many absurdities might be hence inferred , and to be Externally called , according both to the meaning of Truth , and the import of the words is , *to have such a Visible Evidence of the Call of Jesus Christ , as in Reason and Charity doth oblige all men to receive the person so called , as truly sent* ; Certainly of any Person force his own Entry into the Ministry by open and profane Contempt of the Rule and Order given by our Lord Jesus , he doth in like manner as palpably disprove any Evidence of a Lawful Call , which he can pretend to , and no man is obliged either to Beleeve him to be Called , or to Receive him as Sent . Which things are so evident in themselves , that whoever denyeth them , is obliged by the same consequence to affirm , that if *Simon Magus* had in his horrid wickedness purchased the Apostleship by money , the Christian World had been bound to Receive him as an Apostle . 4. Though we are not to lanch out into these depths , how the Soveraignty of Divine Providence hath suffered Churches to fall away into Apostacy , and again recovered them , and if during these times of Apostacy a standing Ministry still continued , or how long it did ; if not , what way it was revived and raised up , in which cases true Faith in Jesus Christ , which is the substance of all , and a conscientious walking according to the measure of the times , doth certainly purge & sustain many things otherwise chargeable with Informality ; Yet

of this we are confident , that it hath alwayes beene both  
the sin and misery of all Apostatizing Churches, that they  
have not resisted the beginnings of Defection , and where  
the Authors thereof did prove incorrigible , though  
formerly Ministers , that they did not separate from  
them , and account them as Heathens and Publicans  
which course , if duely and zealously observed , had un-  
doubtedly put a great stop and hinderance to the rise and  
wicked Usurpation of Antichrist , all whose malice and  
violence without the delusion and compliance of such  
who ought to have resisted them , had never proven so  
effectual . 5. That a man may be a Minister, and yet not  
Minister unto all , so as to oblige them to receive him as  
sent to them, which may be intuitively understood beyond  
the light and power of any demonstration , if we but  
suppose the case of a particular Congregation , living under  
, and acknowledging their own lawful Pastor , and  
that amongst such , a few violent persons arising , bring  
in another Minister by plain force , and cast out their law-  
ful pastor ; and if it be sincerely resolved what the faithful  
in that Church are then obliged to do , surely none will  
think that they ought instantly to relinquish their true pa-  
stor , and own and submit to this Intruder , but on the  
contrarie , all must grant that they ought to adhere to their  
lawful Minister , and not only discountenance and withdraw  
from the Usurper , but by all lawful means endea-  
vour his Ejection ; which case , if but translated to the  
present condition of this oppressed Church under usur-  
ping prelates , will with the same evidence resolve the  
question . 6. That whatever construction or interpreta-  
tion , many , to whom it is given to believe , but not to suffer ,  
may put upon their hearing of the Curates , as to the in-  
ferring or not inferring their owning of , and submission  
to their Ministry , yet this is certain , that as it is the  
most probable argument and presumption of owning that  
can be alleged , so is it that which this Act requires for

to testify both a due acknowledgement of, and hearty compliance with the present Government by Prelates, and as an undoubted evidence of the peoples giving their cheerful Concurrence, Countenance and Assistance to the Curates.

7. That seeing hearing of the Curates by that acknowledgement of all the more ingnuous, is not a duty to which they are moved by conscience, but rather used by them as a thing though lawful yet arbitrary, for the eviting a greater inconvenience, and seeing that this Act and every article thereof is undoubtedly a gross and wicked Perfidy against God and his holy Covenant, commanding the disowning and relinquishing the Lords Ministry, whom we are bound to maintain, and the owning and encouraging by hearing such vile Intruders as we are bound to extirpate, thereby designing expressly to involve all, as much as is possible, in the same Perfidy, and to loose the former obligation of the Oath of God; whatever may be said in the case abstractly considered, yet we are perswaded, that being thus stated, not hearing becomes a case of Testimony, and an indispensible duty.

8. That as it is the sin and misery of all declining times, that the zeal of God is at the best rather wished for as a blessing, than minded as a Duty; so we are confident that the true and right zeal of God should, and would not only inspire all with an unanimous Adversion against the profane intruding Curates, but animate us as one man to drive away these Wolves and Thieves, and to eradicate these plants which our heavenly Father never planted.

9. That though the Curates could instruct and justify their External Call, yet such are their lies and lightness by which they cause the people to erre, and the visible truth of their vile Perjury and Prophanity, which they preach and practice, that all serious observers may easily discover them to be inwardly ravening Wolves under the sheeps cloathing of a pretended external call, of whom, in conscience of our Lords command, all ought and should beware.

10. That whatever may be the difference in these things

things even amongst the faithful, yet all must agree and acknowledge, that the violent pressing of such to hear who, upon such probable grounds from a tender sense of conscience, do only plead that Christian, innocent, and most safe privilege of a peaceable forbearance, is not only contrary to that ample promise of *Indulgence to tender conscience* made and declared by the King from Breda before his return 1660. but is in effect to violent all conscience, and the height of oppression and rigour. 11. That as the ground laid down may and do sufficiently answer all objections, so therefrom may be shortly cleared, first, that common and ordinary Sophism, that hearing and observing the Ordinances is an indispensable Duty, from which neither the wickedness nor frailty of the Minister doth loose : But it may be easily answered, that this when acknowledged, doth rather suppose than inferre the complexed lawfulness of hearing Curates as Ministers, and that their Ministry is the Lords Ordinance, which is plainly denied ; so we are also to consider, that such duties and performances are only acceptable unto the Lord, specially in the matters of his Worship, which are intirely sound and wholly agreeable unto his will, truely done, in spirit, and altogether performed in truth, *Nam bonum est ex omni causa.* Hence it is that the prophanity and wickedness even of the Lords lawfull Priests, let be the Perjury and Profanity of wicked Intruders, have not only caused the People to abhorre the offering of the Lord, to the Priests heavy charge, but even the Lord himselfe to abhorre his sanctuary, and to account incense an abomination, so that he cannot away with the calling of assemblies, it is iniquity even the solemn meeting ; shall it then be accounted iniquity for to hate that which the Lord hates, and withdraw from that which he hath forsaken ? Ought we not rather to distinguish a holy abhorring from a profane contempt, though both of them proceed from the Curats sin, and in the sense thereof rather wish for, and withdraw with *Jeremiah* unto a cottage in

in the wilderness , that there we may mourn for all their abominations ; surely were there no more in this matter but that Holiness becomes the house of God for ever , and men of clean hands and a pure lip ought to draw near and run unto him , it were sufficient to justify the Lords People , who in drawing near to God , cannot in conscience either regard , or make use of the mouths and hands of these Apostates , which are continually filled with lyes and violence , as either sent by the Lord to them-ward , or to be employed by them to God ward . 2. From these grounds may be cleared that grand objection from our Lords command to the People of the Jewes , Matt.23. ver.2 3 saying , *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses seat , therefore whatsoever they bid you observe , that observe and do.* Whence some inferre , that even such as without a title do usurp the office of teachers ought notwithstanding to be both heard and observed ; but it is answered , 1. That it neither appeareth from the words , nor yet from any other Record , that the Scribes and Pharisees did by intrusion possess themselves of Moses chair , but on the contrary , as by Moses chair is only understood the Office of teaching , resolving and judging according to Moses Law , to which although the Levites were appropriate , yet there is no such determination thereanent in the Word of God . as can by any manner of inference reject the Scribes and Pharisees as intruders , so it is more presumable (that , seeing our Lord in that long Legend of evils and woes pronounced against them , doth not in the least charge them with Intrusion , but rather acknowledge their Vocation by calling them the Builders) they had thereto lawfully attained . 2. As our Lords Words bear no command for the People to hear , but only to observe and do what they heard , rather supposing than allowing that , which though for the time he endeavoured to improve to the best advantage , yet afterwards he intended not only to reform but utterly to abolish ; and therefore cannot in reason inferre command and duty to hear the Curates ;

Curates ; so neither our Lords tolerance in this case can so much as inferre its lawfulness, except the cases were duly stated and compared , which if any will rationally do , by first supposing that the Scribes and Pharisees had then lately by gross Perjury & Violence thrust out the Lords Teachers, and intruded themselves into the Office , we are bold to affirm, that our greatest adversaries dare not in this case assert, that our Lord would so much as in the like words here used have insinuat a simple toleration.

13. Hitherto we have only observed the progress of these Acts, that directly tend to the overthrow of Presbytery, and the erecting of Prelacy but as by the vilest of Flatteries and most presumtuos of Usurpations, Sovereignty is puffed up and exalted to that Supremacy , which is the necessary and only foundation of Prelacy ; So it is no wonder if both in the righteous Judgement of God , and through the influence of this wicked Prelacy, the stay of lawful Authority become a yoke of Tyranny , and that these Prelates , who make an absolute surrender of Religion, Conscience and all Sacred Concernments , for the gratifying , and to the arbitriment of these Powers, whose Creatures they have often Atheistically acknowledged themselves to be , do with the same and greater profusion subject both Laws , Liberties and the Fortunes of others , to the lust of the same Powers which they may so easily pervert unto their own establishment and advancement: And this indeed is, and hath always been that great aggravation of our latter Prelacy, rendering the same worse and more intolerable than the Romish Hierarchy, which being wholly dependent upon the Pope, another and distinct head , and not upon the Civil Power, whose interests are oftentimes not only distinct but directly opposite, it hath neither that access , nor influence to abuse Princes; Whereas our Prelates deriving all their Power and Being from the Kings Supremacy, by endeavouring for their own better establishment, to render him uncontrollably absolute over and in all things, they being otherwise mean and abject persons , having the least and almost no share nor

interest in the Commonwealth, and by reason of their ill Right and worse Conscience in what they do possess, being alwayes cruelly jealous, have by sad experience ever inclined the Government unto Tyranny; & as in this late & worst Catastrope they have more prevailed, than ever formerly they did, so the following instances do more clearly demonstrate this assertion.

We shall not here repeat these Acts, whereby for the better and more easy establishment of Prelacy then designed, this Parliament for its first work, under pretence of vindicating and declaring the Kings Just Right and Prerogative, did in effect wholly corrupt and innovate the well tempered and firm constitution of our Ancient Government, which both all our Ancient Histories and Records, the only evidence whereby fundamental Laws are verifiable, sufficiently declare, and the long continuance and endurance thereof, excellently commend. The first thing that thereafter occurs, is that Act & offer of fourty thousand pounds Sterling to the King yearly during his life, whereby in place of that relaxation from these burdens, which the iniquity of Usurpers had only from time to time imposed, a lasting and perpetual Imposition, by its continuance fully exequating the excess of the former, is entailed upon us, and that for no other end than the complementing of a few Favourites of Prelacy, and the maintaining of a Military Force over us, for their and the Prelates security, and persecution & slavery of the bad, of the people opposite thereto. The 2. thing is that rigid, irregular and exorbitant Fining, which we have already mentioned, clearly and unquestionably carried on and executed by the same Authors; and for the same Design. The 3. thing is that humble tender made to the King of our duty and loyalty, wherby in recognizance of the Kings prerogative, and in a further acknowledgement of our duty, the Parliament by the 25. Act, Session 3. do subject the Persons, Fortunes and whole strength of the Kingdom to the Kings pleasure and arbitriment, in that humble (indeed, but

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but also blind and incondesirat) offer of 20000 foot Men, 2000 Horsmen sufficiently armed with 40 dayes Provision, ready upon the Kings call, to march to any part of his Dominions, for opposing whatsoever Invasion, or Insurrection, or for any other service. Which offer, though possibly many do account it but voluntary and cheerful expression of that readiness, which our Ancestors have often witnessed for the defence of King & Countrey; yet in effect, if duly considered, as concluded under the force of a Statute and Act of Parliament, in place of that willingness & readiness alleged, whereunto our Ancestors were from time to time determined by these visible & apparent exigencies of the common concernment which did require it, it will be found no other thing, than an impli-cite and slavish Emancipation of our lives and liberties to the arbitriment of the Powers, coloured with the pretext of loyal devotion to lawful Authority. But whatever is herein exorbitant, is without question the proper effect and product of the jealousy of these Apostate Prelates, whom the inward disquiet of an evil conscience causeth to apprehend terrour round about. The 4. thing wherein this wicked prelacy hath perverted the Ancient and well constitute Government of this Realm, is their procuring, erecting & exercising the High Commission Court, (without so much as the approbation of that Parliament, wherein nothing would have been refused them, wherein not only Ecclesiastick and Civil Jurisdiction are absurdly confounded, in empowering secular persons to suspend and depose; and pretended Church men and Ministers to fine, confine and incarcerate, but the *Act. 131. Parl. 8. Iac. 6.* discharging all New Courts not approven in Parliament, directly thereby contraveened; neither will the *Ca-bolicon* of the Kings omnipotent Prerogative salve this breach, in respect the same Prerogative, now in so great vigour, was by the *129. Act of this same 8 Parl. Ia. 6.* and almost immediatly preceeding the *Act* alleged, then also recently enacted. But who can consider the Arbitrary form of Inquisition & summary pro-

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cedour without any shadow of Legal Process , used in the same Commission , its tyranny and unwarrantable exacting of Oaths and subscrptions , with its new invented insolent and affronting punishments , more cruell to ingenuous Spirits than death it self , and not be convinced of the gross and wicked corruption of this State novelty , or rather monster ? The 5. thing which offers , is the accumulation , and in effect the suppression of the ordinary Officers of State (the very stay and props of regular Government , and the conduits and channels whereby its refreshing influences are diffused) with , and by an extraordinary superlative power and Office in the single person of the Kings Commissioner . Certainly as in the multitude of Counsellers there is safety , so on the other hand no King on earth can rule by such a deputation , who may not as lawfully alienate his Crown : Which devices are all the inventions of these wicked Prelates , who knowing that if the King should either hear , see or act , but by such ears , eyes , and hands as they do assigne unto him , their affairs could not long prosper , do by such exorbitancies endeavour the establishment of their own Tyranny . The 6. thing that occurs is not only the keeping up of a Military Force , to the intolerable burden and slavery of this free Nation , in so far as the ordinary and civil manner of Legal Execution , specially for Fines and Ecclesiastical Delinquencies is now committed to , and managed by Military Force and Violence , and thereby the manner of exacting often times rendered more hard and insupportable than the exaction it self ; but also that for satisfying the restless jealousies and endless fears of the evil consciences of these Apostate Prelates , more and greater forces under the vain pretence of Foreign fears , which both the then condition and posture of these Wars , the disproportion of the Forces themselves , and the disposure of such as before were levyed did clearly redargue , have been levyed , and are kept on foot , for maintaining

ing whereof the Publick Revenues are mis-applyed, the Fines, when by the Kings favour long delayed, at length exacted and expended, new Taxtions imposed; far exceeding the quantity of any formerly required, and a length the old Assessment, the great grievance of the late Ulurpation of new superadded, and the poor Contry and body of the Land in its greatest poverty subjected unto, oppressed and harrassed by more injurious extortions than ever the Conquering sword of any Forraign Enemy did heretofore, or can probably license: And all these things clearly intended and carryed on for no other end than the support of this wicked Prelacy, and its cruel Bondage and Spiritual Tyranny. We need no mention for an aggravation of these violences, that these Forces were levyed by the immediate procurement of the Perfidious Prelates, without the advice of the King's Council, (ever from the beginning, what ever may be the present exaltation of Prerogative, reputed to be one with the King, and who both by Place and Interest are therein indispensibly concerned) seeing it is not the least of the iniquities and calamities of these times, that the poor Nation and its greatest Concernments are by them so basely abandoned. But this we must take notice of, that though our Adversaries, by reason of the disasterous Events that lately have happened, do now boast of a most special Providence and fore-sight in all these oppressions; yet it would be more just and rational on their part, to acknowledge that as oppression doth even make a wise man mad, so to see a free Nation, by the Perfidy and Insolent Domineering of a few up-start Prelates, and the violence of their wickid and slavish Favourites, reduced to the condition of a most insupportable and unnatural Conquest, both was, is, and ever will be a most just cause and provocation to all ingenuous Spirits and true Patriots, to undertake the asserting of their own Liberty, upon the greatest hazard.

Having thus truly and fully represented the exaltation of Prerogative and Prelacy, over and above all things Divine and Humane, Sacred or Profane, we shall briefly adde the bitter and cruel fruits and effects of this sinful & woful Conspiracy.

1. As the Laws above mentioned, enacted for the overthrow of Presbytery, & the Restauration of this accursed Prelacy, specially in so far as concerns the Ministry, were, and are such as did inevitably inferre, either a sinfull compliance with that Perjury and Apostacy whereby they were framed, or the endurance of the pains and sufferings thereto subjoyned ; so almost the whole faithful Ministers, are thereby first and last not only deprived of their benefices and lively hood, ejected out of their respective Parishes, and by imminent and visible force incapacitated from the exercise of their Ministry, but some of them are Banished, others Confined, and the remnant reduced to such straits, fears and uncertainties as we have before represented. Then might we have seen the shepherds smitten, and their flocks scattered, our teachers removed into corners, and the Lords Vineyard and Sanctuary laid most desolate : so that in some whole Countreyes and Provinces no preaching was to be heard ; nor could the Lords day be otherwise known, than by the sorrowfull remembrance of these blessed enjoyments whereof now we are deprived. Oh ! though we had not the zeal and courage of our Ancestors, to have set our selves for the Gospel, and the maintenance of the Lords Ministers and Ordinances, which were so perfidiously and violently spoiled, yet that at least we had remembred, by Prayer and Supplication to God, in the dayes of our afflictions and of our miseries, all the pleasant things that we had in the dayes of old.

2. As this Antichristian spirit did at the first discover it selfe, in the height and rage of Prophanity and all Excess, which suddenly overspread the Land, and very

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powerfully and evidently usher in the Restitution of Prelats ; so the same hath been ever since by them not only tolerated , but greatly countenanced and encouraged . We do not here mention their gross and wicked Toleration of Popery , whereby in these few years it hath increased to a greater height, than ever it attained at any time in this Land since the Reformation , and that though it hath , and doth appear in that daring confidence , as if its avowed idolatrous Masses and seminary Priests amongst us , to contemn and despise these ancient and standing Laws, whereby such things are often and severely prohibited under the pain of death , yet to this day never one hath been publickly questioned and charged upon that account . The thing mostly to be noticed is , that the only grievance and eye-sore of Prelates is Conscience and any measure of Tenderness therein ; Thence is it that the most innocent and peaceable Forbearance is not hearing Curates and the like , hath been persecute with all rigour , whereas Adulteries , Blasphemies , Swearing and Drunkenness are so far from being punished or restrained , that the Committers thereof are now only the persons most in fashion and favour ; yea it hath been known and can be instanced that persons conveened and questioned , as disaffected , have either upon discovery or information of their Prophanity & dissoluteness , been instantly and freely dismissed . Oh that men and Christians do so little remember our Lords own rule , to judge and discern false prophets by their fruits , whereby he hath expresly said that we shall know them , and that men are so far blinded and bewitched , as not to see the mighty working of Sathan in this Mystery of Iniquity , endeavouring under a meer shadow and pretence of Formality , to root out the Power and Life of Religion and Conscience , and to reduce this poor Church unto that Laodicean luke-warmness more desperate and incurable than coldness and death it self ,

3. The faithful Ministers being outed , and the hedge of Presbyterian Government removed , as prophanity and wickedness doth yet more abound , so there came out of this smoak , Locusts upon our Church , even a crew of Curates for Insufficiency , Vanity , Lies , and Prophanity , the very Scorn of Reformation and Scandal of Religion . We need not here adduce particular instances , there is none , who in the least observe their doctrine & manner of conversation , but will easily acknowledge it : And the certainty of what we here affirm is so obvious unto all , that a particular condescendence would either prove an infinite labour , or too much abridge the extent of so sad a truth . Its true there are some who being convinced , and others who supposing the truth of what is here alleged , do either doubt or deny these things to be the proper effects of Prelacy , but rather of the licentiousness of men , and such accidents which may be incident to the best constitutions : But if it be considered ,  
1. That that thing which inseparably and infallibly attends another , may with more than ordinary probability be concluded to depend thereon by a certain influence .  
2. That that which is no Ordinance of Jesus Christ , but the visible product of the Devils malice and mens pride and lust , can never be effectual for the establishing of Truth , or promoting of Holiness . 3. That such who not only discover in themselves the foresaid evils , but by open and most notorious Perjury do usurp and invade and hold the Offices they pretend to , must of necessity hate the light because their deeds are evil ; it will be very easily granted that Prelacy , Prelates , and their dependants , to whom all these things are clearly applicable , are not only the proper causes and authors of all the Prophanity and Wickedness under which this poor Land now perisheth ; but most naturally introductory unto all these Superstitions & Abominations , wherein the Devill by the same means did , and hath involved the Christian World under the Roman Papacy .

4. The Prelates and Curates being thus established, from the ground and warrant of the Acts mentioned, several Proclamations and Edicts, for the more effectual execution thereof, and pressing conformity thereunto, and for the suppressing conscientious adherence to, or (so much as is possible) the very remembrance of our former Engagements and Covenants, and the holy Ministry and Government therein contained, are emitted and published. We have already mentioned that at *Glasgow*, and these others to the same purpose which did ensue upon it. The first what we here note is, that the Prelates conceiving that their persecutions already practized and to be practized, might excite the compassion of some to charitable supply of the afflicted; more to express their cruel malice than really to hinder that, which at best is not worth the noticing, under the pretext of *Disorder*, they procure a *discharge* of charitable Collections. And now let it be here observed once for all, that such is the cruelty, not only of the malice but of the very Acts, procured by the Prelates against conscientious Non-conformists, that if they were followed with a suitable and compleat execution, there should remain no comfort to an abiding stedfast, other than that of *Arcadius* mercy to the children of Traitors, *that life should be their grief, and death their relief*. There was another Proclamation emitted at the time of the first planting of the Curates, *that all persons should keep their own Parish Churches*, and should not impair to any other except in case of vacancy, under pain twenty shillings tories quoties, to the effect that such could not in conscience attend the Curats Conventicles might be also deprived of any mean of edification which the opportunity and neighbourhood of a faithful Ministry might afford. Then thereafter there is another Edict published against *unwarrantable Preaching, Praying, Hearing*, whereby even such Exercises, without which the Communion of Saints can hardly be entertained, w-

restrained and discharged; in so much, that if a faithful outed Minister should repair to any private family, or two or three more than the Domesticks of one House be found together, though only employed in the most Christian and edifying Exercises of Praying, Lecturing or Godly Conference, their meeting is declared an *unlawful Conventick*, and all such as are accessory, punishable accordingly. By a fourth Proclamation, men are required to be *assistant to, and concurre with the Curates in the exercise of Discipline*, as they shall be thereto called, though they be not tolde either by what warrant, or in what capacity they are to meddle in the Matters of God; for our adversaries do both disown Elders, and allow Deacons no rule. There is a fifth Proclamation *discharging all Conventions and meetings whatsoever under the pretence of Religion*, which are not allowed by Authority, certifying all persons accessory, that they shall be looked upon and punished by pecuniary & corporal pains, as seditious persons, at the arbitrement of the Council, and especially, that the Ministers exercising therein, and their resisters or countenancers in any sort, shall be liable unto the highest pains due to seditious Persons. And lastly, there is a sixth, commanding all Masters of Families to cause their Servants and all their dependents, and all Heritors and Landlords to cause their Tennants and Tax men to obey all Acts of Parliament or Council enjoying Conformity, and particularly to frequent their Parish Churches, and to submit and conform to the Curates their Ministry, or else remove them summarily from their service, and eject them out of their Possessions: And also that Heritors take bond and security of their intrant Tennants in time coming, that they and their Cottars and Servants, shall give obedience, as said it; and lastly, that all Magistrates of Burghs cause their Inhabitants give Bond for the like obedience; for which effects, these Heritors and Magistrats are warranted to charge them under the pain of Rebellion: And whoever shall contraveen this Edict is certified and declared liable to the same pains due to the Non Conformists themselves, for whom he hereby is made answerable.

This is the last Act and Proclamation for Conformity not only in course, but even in the utmost of extremity and rigour, whereby, as many persons having a freedom to their own practice, are further urged, contrary to all the rules of charity and moderation, to compel others towards whom they may rather desire a Christian, Forbearance and Indulgence to be used; so the generality of the Land without any exception whatsoever, are reached, and obliged to all the Compliance with, and Conformity to this wicked Apostacy, and accursed and abjured Prelacy, whereof they are capable, and that under such Pains, as if generally incur'd & execute, should infallibly reduce the Land to utter Desolation and confusion. But the Lord heareth and regardeth, and Oh that men would also hear the voice of this poor Church, that bewaileth herself and spreadeth out her hands, saying, *Woe is me now, or my soul is weary because of Murtherers.*

5. As we have observed the Tyranny and Illegality of the *High Commission*, granted for executing these Ecclesiastick Acts and Edicts, both in its Constitution and Procedure, so we do further observe, that whatever Novelties and Extravagancies the *Commission* it self contain, yet the Practices of the Court, having no other Precedent in the Christian World, save that of the *Spanish Inquisition*, do far exceed them. For 1. as persons are brought before them, either by Seisure or summar Citation, without any cause signified, but to answer *super inquirendis*, contrary to an exprefs standing Law *Iac. 6. Parl. 10. cap. 13. 1585.* which was also enacted, when the Kings Prerogative was fresh and in full vigour; so at their Compearance, they have neither Libel nor Accuser, but are constrained instantly to make answer to whatsoever question the arbitriment of the Archprelat pleaseth to demand. 2. As there is no time for advice permitted, so neither are lawful Defences received or admitted; but if any person do offer to propone any matter of that kind, he is required first to take

take the Oath of Supremacy , or some such Engagement or Subscription , which they are assured he will refuse. Thus a Gentleman of the Name of *Porterfull* being conveened before them , and questioned for not owning the Curate ; He answers , That his not hearing the Curate , could import no disaffection , nor bring him under the compass of the Law , because the Curate had calumniated him by such vile opprobries and reproaches , as were both scandalous in a Minister , and just ground of resentment to any ingenuous Spirit , as he was able to prove by sufficient witnessess : This the Court having sustained as relevant , and the Gentleman having adduced his witnessess , and one of them being examined and clearly proving , all further procedor is stopped , and he required to take the Oath of Supremacy , which he having refused , they sentence him in a great Pecuniary Fine , and confine his Person far North , to the Town of *Elgin* . 3. If any Person conveened do clearly answer all their Questions & Demands , so that he cannot be in that manner reached , then they require him in a most Arbitrary way , either to take the Oath of Supremacy , or some other subscription , for obedience to Ecclesiastick Lawes , or any other bond or security they please to require : In which their Tyranny they are so inconsequent , that they neither remember that Lawes made are to be Obeyed and not subscribed , and that Obedience is secured by their own sanction , and not by the Peoples handwriting , nor that the main objection by which they themselves impugn the Covenant , and whereon the Declaration against it , is expressly founded , is that the same was taken by , and imposed upon the Subjects of this Kingdom against the fundamental Laws and Liberties of the same , which is not more false if applied to these holy Covenants , (which were expressly founded , both upon the Word of God , and the free consent of the body of the People , and most necessarily intended for the Glory of God and the defence

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of Religion and Liberty, which are the foundations of fundamentals , besides the accession of both Law and Authority, by which they were warranted) than true and evident in order to the case in hand, it being most certain that whatever may be the extent of the Peoples Surrender under any Constitution ; for the enforcing of their Obedience or Submission , yet the liberty of Perswasion is undoubtedly understood to be reserved , that it cannot be abridged by any imposed Oath or Subscription . without their own consent. We know the Council hath both the power , and is in use to take Bond for keeping the Peace but this is a practice so clearly warranted by Law , and antecedently founded in reason and humanity , upon just and probable presumptions , to secure the Peace by bonds which they might do by the persons imprisonment, that the parity is alleged with as little reason , as the practice controverted is void of equity: Notwithstanding of all which there is but one course before that *Commission Court* , without mitigation either to Banish , or Fine , or Confine (or both ) the persons refusing. 4. If any do in his answer or demeanor offend , or be discovered thereby in the least to be guilty , they proceed to sentence without any braving or intermission , wherein they so little observe the Warrant of their Power and Commission , that they oftentimes exceed all the proportion either of Law or Reason. For verifying whereof, let but the instances subjoined be considered , where we shall find persons 1. *Stigmatized and Banished* for not conforming , which neither their first nor second Commission, bearing only Power to Fine , Confine and Imprison , nor the Laws whereupon they could proceed give warrant to do. We know the first Commission that was printed, was afterwards renewed with some extension and not printed , but though some copies thereof in writing were spread abroad, with power to *stigmatize and banish* yet neither doth the Principal contain any such warrant nor can the extension therein made , inferre the same.

any sort, without admitting that the same Court consisting of many members constituent of the Secret Council, might *Proteus-like* transfigure themselves into this form in a moment. 2. We shall find men sentenced not only to Banishment, but to Deportation and Slavery, viz. to be carried to *Barbadoes*, where, being poor men and not able to redeem their Liberty, they must undoubtedly be sold; a punishment, which not only the disproportion of their delinquencies, but the whole tenor of our Laws, &c the undoubted Priviledge of Christianity, doth reprobate and condemn: These things duly considered and compared, it will be more than evident, that our Oppressions and Grievances by reason of this Court alone, do far exceed all the pressures and injuries of that *Spanish Inquisition*, whereupon the *United Provinces* have justified and approved their revolt from under the King of Spain, to all Protestant States and Churches.

6. As these Acts and Proclamations are very Wickedness, so their Execution hath been only Rigour and Cruelty, It were endless to enumerate all the distresses that have here-upon ensued upon particular persons and Families, unto the imprisonment of many, confinement of some, deportation of others to remote Islands; chassing of others to sore and anxious wanderings, and scattering of Families unto beggary. Any who can conceive the Wickedness and Violence that did prompt the Prelats to the making of these Acts and Statutes, the arbitrary Power of the High Commission by which they were enforced, and the rage, violence and rapine that attends Military Force by which they were and are executed, may possibly conceive some part of these evils; which, left the strangeness thereof do render altogether improbable to men unacquainted, we shall here subjoin a few instances of many, of the Procedors of the high Commission Court, leaving these of Military Force unto a more proper place. The Parish of *Ancrum* had been in former times under the blessing of Mr John Livingston his Minstry, who being banished the Kingdom for no other cause

cause than his emipency and stedfastness in the Work of God, and refusing the Oath of Supremacy, there is obtruded by the Bishop upon them in his place, one *Scot*, an old excommunicate Curate, continuing under that sentence, and in his wickedness that procured the same, for which cause mainly, he is now complemented and rewarded with the accession of this Kirk and Benefice, to two others, which he still brooks and enjoyes, though very far distant from this place. This man coming amongst them, such as feared the Lord, and remembred his Work and Covenant, are stirred up in the Zeal of God to testify against his Intrusion, whom, being a Person excommunicate, entering by gross Perjury, without their consent, and only seeking after the fleece and Benefice, all that love our Lord Jesus and the prospering of his pleasure, were bound to abhorre & detest: We do not justify any excess of humane passion, that might here have been admixed with the sincere zeal of God, which we are certain in its worst appearance all men ought rather to excuse, than therefore condemn that duty, to which not only the People of the Parish, but the whole Church of Scotland were and are in a higher measure indispensibly obliged, in opposition to the present course of Apostacy, and for extirpation of the Apostat Prelates. However four men of the Parish, are convened before the High Commission, where being examined they acknowledge, that *Mr Scot* being to preach at *Ancrum* as their Minister, they found themselves pressed in conscience to declare to him their dis-satisfaction with his entry, and that they were present with the rest of the people which were there at that time. This the Commission, contrary to the opinion of the more sober & most knowing amongst them, take for a confession of guilt, and immediately proceed to sentence them, as contemners of the Ordinances, to be scourged through the Town, stigmatized with the letter *T*hat the Cross of Edinburgh, and thereafter imprisoned, and with the first Ship to be carried to the Barbadoes Islands. All which

which was accordingly performed upon them. *This judgement is turned into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into hemlock.* But God who sustained his servants with that constancy and courage, that neither the shame nor pain of scourging and burning, hindred them openly and audibly to rejoice in the Lord, who counted them worthy to suffer for his Name, beholdeth also mischief and spite to require it with his hand. For the same alleged crime, shortly hereafter they sentence two Brothers, married men, to be carried to Barbadoes, and their sister, a young woman, to be scourged through the Town of Edinburgh. As for alleged conventicing, there is one Mr Smib, a Minister seised upon and imprisoned, for no other crime than preaching to, and praying with a few secretly assembled for fear of the Prelates, in the Name of the Lord, without the least offence objected from any thing there spoken; who being brought before the Commission, and in his examination and answers to the Bishop of St Andrewes, calling him only Sir, without Lord or Grace, he is therefore taxed by the Commissioner, to whom he answered very respectfully, (giving him his accustomed titles) that he knew he was speaking to Mr James Sharp once a Minister as he himself is. Whereupon there is so great offence conceived, that the Commissioner did immediatly ordain him to be carried by the Town-Hangman to the Thieves Hole, and there laid in the Irons, in company with a Furious Fatuous person, who was there loose: an Indignity so great, unusual and insolent, that although He had behaved himself not only rudely in his demeanor, (which is the worst that his Adversaries can charge him with,) but had been most flagitious in his life; yet nothing but that Spirit of Spite and Rebellion that rageth in Apostats, could prompt Christians to inflict upon one, who had ever carried so much as the Title of a Minister. But because the open Iron-grate, whereby this Hole is shut, gave too great access to the charity and compassion of many persons who came to visit him, he is therefore upon the third day thereafter carried

ed up to the Iron-house within the Tolbooth, and continued in his irons and fetters, and thereafter in close Prison, by sentence of the same Commission, he was banished and confined to Shetland. the coldest and wildest of all the Sea Islands; where he was to expect no other comfort, than the company of some other faithful men, who for not owing and submitting to the Curats, had been carried there, by sentence of the same Court. And as they did thus sentence Minister for Exercising, so the same Court having convened before them an honest private man . . . Black, for being present at an alleged Conventicle, but in effect, at a meeting of a few Christians for praying and hearing the Lord's Word, without so much as any other offence pretended; because, according to the example and warning of the Primitive Christians, he refused to give his Oath, thereupon to delate the names of such as he knew to have been present, and because he was not liberal in giving Andrews his titles, the Commissioner ordaineth him to be scourged through the Town; although it was well known to the Court, that his information could give very small evidence, and they were convinced, that his refusal did not flow from contempt of the Kirk's Authority, but merely and purely from scruple of Conscience. These are few instances of many particulars of this kind which might be mentioned, whreof there is no corner in the whole Country nor Parish almost in the West, which cannot give evidence & therefore we do remite any more ample confirmation of these things, until we have noted a few more particulars clearing thereof.

7. As we have observed the Wickedness of these Ecclesiastick Laws, and the iniquity and irregularity of the Act of Fines, and the introducing of Execution by Military Force; (a servitude unheard of & intolerable in any free Nation) so the evils and oppressions thereof can scarcely be numbered, For 2. Upon pretence of that Proclamation commanding People to keep their Parish-Churches, and ille-

prohibiting the repairing to any other, except in case of vacancy under the pain of 20 shillings Scots *tories quotes* the souldiours being disposed upon, to such places, which are known to be most averse from this course of Apostacy, lying at catch for their own advantage, have often taken the opportunity, where there was but one Church in the bounds still enjoying a faithful Minister, and many vacancies about, to go and beset that Church in the time of Divine Worship, to the profane disturbance thereof. And thereafter either to cause call some old roll of the Parishioners, and exact the Fine of twenty Shillings Scots of all others without exception, or respect even to the licence contained in the Proclamation it self, in case of vacancy, or to require an Oath of every person to know to what Parish they belong, and that at the Church door, without permitting them to come forth, until they either give their Oath or pay the Fine, not only with cursing, swearing and confusion, as would make Infidels amazed to see the Lords day so profaned, by Christians professing the same common Faith; but all with such rigour, by taking by force the Bibles or garments from some poor persons, who have not wherewith to pay, and insolent beating and wounding of others to the effusion of blood, as may justify the greatest Barbarity. We need be no instance particulars in a truth so universally known. We proceed to another kind of this same violence, practised in other places where Curates are planted, who, to force and compel the people to that compliance with their Ministry, in which in conscience they are bound to abhorre, cause form rolls or rolls of such as keep not the Church, and calling them after sermon, both Men and Women by Name and Surname, they amercite the absents in such summs and fines as they please, and for the most part, far exceeding the paines contained in the Act of Parliament; wherupon the souldiours are immediatly warranted to go and exact the same by quartering. Which Practice is not more unjust in itself, than illegal and summar procedor, than rigid and exorbitant; both as to the quantity and the manner of exacting it, by reason

reason of their riding and quartering money . ( which therewith exacted ) and the other inconveniences which inseparably attend the rapine & violence of prophane soldiours . 3. In many places , not contented thus to Fine and Exact , the souldiours , on the Lords day , go to private houses , and by plain force compel and drive the Church all such as they find , and oftentimes do insolently beat and abuse persons , who by reason of infirmitie or sicknes are really unable : A practice so cruel and absurd , that some of themselves have said , it was our Lordes way to drive buyers and sellers out of the Temple , but not to drive them into it . 4. As to the exacting and levying of the Parliaments Fines , the same was done ( by a reference of the Council to the Commissioner , and his orders thereon ) in such an oppressive and exorbitant manner as cannot be paralellled . For 1. Parties of horse being directed to several Shires , when a party arrived in a Shire , they direct their order to all the persons thereof Fined , intimating to them and every one of them to pay their respective Fines , with three Shillings Sterling per diem for every Horseman in the party : from the day and date of their Order until the Fine be payed , and the payment signified to the commander of the Party : By which extortions , many have been compelled to pay more for Quartering than the summe and quantity of their Fine and during the time of these oppressions , many have computed , that the Sherifdoms of *Ayr* and *Renfrew* were compelled to pay upon the account of Quarterings , over and above the Fines , betwixt two and three thousand Merks Scots per diem . 2. There was no defence nor exemption allowed against these Quarterings ; for whether the person fined did liberate himself , by taking the Declaration , or that it was alleged that he was Minor , an Infant , or never Charged , or that his Predecessor charged was since Deceased , or that his Predecessor was never Charged , yea Died before he was fined , or that the Person quartered on was only Relict of the Person fined .

fined (a poor Widow living upon a mean Jointure) or that the Person quartered on had no Relation to the Person fined, save that he lived in the house and place which once pertained to him, and which this Person lawfully Purchased, even before the other was fined; Yet all was repelled, and no complaint of this rigour and violence could be heard or received; but on the contrary the complainer (especially if he refused to take the *Declaration*) was rejected with most insolent reproaches and menaces.

3. That both in the uplifting of the Fine and exacting of the Quarterings, the extremity of rigour was used, by dragging some to prison, who either were known altogether indigent and insolvent, or did offer to renounce the Benefit of the *Act of Indemnity* (the forfaulure whereof as the alternative and utmost certificati on for not payment of the Fine, contained in the *Act of Fining*) or by plundering, Beating, and Spoiling others without possibility of redress. We need not adduce Particular Instances for the verification of these things, seeing they were not done in a corner: But the cry of this violence, as it filled the whole Land; so no doubt it also reached unto the very Heavens, and is entered into the ears of Him *who hateth violence and loveth righteousness, who saith unto Princes, Remove violence and spoil, and execute judgments and justice, take away your exactions from my people.* One thing mainly to be considered is, that as Prelacy is the great cause of all the Sin and Misery that afflicteth us; so was it by the instigation of the same wicked Apostats, that these Fines so long delayed were thus at length rigorously exacted: And that for no other purpose, than the levying of moe Forces for their security and support, and the better strengthening of their Tyranny. Certainly were it not of the Lord, who, because of our contempt of his glorious Gospel, and blessed Ministry, hath plagued us with stupidity, and smitten us with madness, blindness and astonishment of heart, to give unto us the re-

ward of our own hands , and to cause us to eat the fruit of our doings , it were impossible that rational men after the feeling of so sore grievances , and the teaching of so many and sad experiences , should still couch under the burthen and submit themselves to the yoke of a few insignificant Apostate Upstarts . and not rather acquit themselves like men , by pulling off these vizards of Religion under which they mask their villanies , and plucking them out of that Sanctuary and great refuge of Loyalty which they do not more pretend than prophane by all the horrid Rebellion against God , and their cruel Persecutions of His faithful Servants and the Kings true Subjects , which they palliate under this pretext ; to the effect that in the righteous & deserved Punishment of these wicked men , both the Sin and Backsliding of the Land might be fisted , & the fierce anger of the Lord averted .

This is the wickedness and violence of accursed Prelacy , which though it hath diffused it self over the whole Land , and left no corner thereof untouched , yet as the West hath been more grievously thereby oppressed and afflicted , so poor Galloway in a manner hath been the point in which all its malice and Tyranny hath been concentrated . We need not here search after Particulars , or be curious for the verification thereof ; the cries and groans of that afflicted Countrey have filled all mens ears and the desolations thereof are obvious to every ones eyes : Nor need we insist to purge their innocency or clear the causes of their sufferings , which were no other than their adherence to their faithful Ministers (though often sten out and rejected by men , yet continuing through the grace of God , to preach amongst them ) and their desperation of a crew of unworthy Curates , scatterers and devourers , not Pastors of the flock ) thrust in amongst them more violently than upon any other part of the Country . The thing we have here to observe is , that manner of the persecution was first and last by plain Hostile Invasion . A

ter which manner Sir James Turner with his Forces (having twice before been amongst them) in March 1666, with greater power and fury than ever formerly, marcheth against them: where being arrived, what exactions, oppressions and insolencies he and his forces committed by arbitrary fining, plundering, quartering, imprisoning, beating, wounding, binding men like beasts, chassing to moors and mountains, and by harassing and laying both Parishes and Countrey-sides almost wholly desolates the ruine and beggary of several hundreds of families, and the impoverishing and great distress of many others do abundantly testify: And yet after all these atrocious injuries, by the contrivance and Authority of the Bishop of Galloway, (who sometimes appeared so zealous for the Covenant and Work of God, that, frequently in his administration of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper to the people of his own Parish, while he was a private Minister, when they were set at Table and ready to Partic平ate, he caused them to renew the Oath of the Covenant, subjoining thereto both that solemnity, and these words used by Nehemia, Chap. 5: 13. when in the like case he did shake his lap, and said, so God shake out every man from his labor that performeth not this promise, even thus be be shaken out and emptied) by the prescription, we say, of the same Bishop and his Synod, these poor oppressed people, after all the exactions, are urged and compelled to subscribe an acknowledgement that Sir James had used them civilly and discreetly; whereby they were forced not only to deny common sense, and lay aside their just resentments, but by this their Subscription (which might be opposed to all their complaints) they were virtually excluded from all hope of redress. All which things are not only confirmed by the notoriety of the matter of fact, but are also by that grievous & mournful Paper of their sufferings, most amply cleared and instructed. To which though Sir James hath made an answer for his own vindication, yet

ſeeing the ſame doth for the moft part reſolve in a ſimplē denial) which it was eaſy for him to make, having ne-  
ther accuſer nor contradicteſ) and he at moft giveth on  
an account of, and vindicateſ his orders, without  
much as denying the excess, that might have enſued  
that military way of execution, (exprefly waiving to an-  
ſwer the extortions of theſe parties, which were com-  
miſſionated for ciwil Fines) any further reply were ſupe-  
fluouſ.

This poor people having continued and lyen under all  
theſe miſeries, for the ſpace of ſeven moneths and upward  
after Sir James his third Invasion, and thereby witneſſed  
not only their very firm and Christian Patience toward  
God; but alſo given a greater teſtimony of they loyall  
and luſtition to the King's commands, than all the fa-  
tering and flaunting profeſſions of theſe their adverſaries  
(who rather than to ſuffer the hundred part of theſe hard-  
hips, would curse both God and their King) will amount  
to: And knowing by ſad expeſience, that both Separat-  
Petitioning had been by Sir James iſolently rejeeted, &  
that Joint Petitioning was by Act of Parliament conden-  
ned, and conſequently all hope this way being cut off  
upon a very Accidental and Indeliberat Occation, the  
were ſtirred up and gave the riſe to the actions and con-  
moṭions following; which was thus.

Sir James ſtill breathing forth perſecutions; upon the  
13. of November laſt, ordereth four ſouldiours, from Dum-  
freis to the Parish of Dalray in Galloway, to poind a poore  
old mans goods; and in caſe they ſhould find none, to any  
feife and apprehend his person, and bring him priſone ſimplē  
to Dumfreis. The ſouldiours in profeſſion of this order, how-  
apprehending the old innocent man, bind him hand and  
foot like a beaſt, & lay him bound upon the ground, ready Tyr-  
to be carried along. When two or three of his neighbours true  
commoved with ſo great an indignity, come and deſire  
he ſouldiours to loſe him, they, inſtead of ſatisfying right  
them from

their desire, suddenly assault the Countrey men with their swords drawn, and necessitat them to their own defence: Whereupon one of the souldiours being wounded, the other three throw down their Arms, and the poor man is relieved. The Countreymen having thus acquitted themselves against these first aggressors, in prosecution of their own necessary defence, against the violence of 10 or 20 more souldiours, who were oppressing in the same Parish ( whom now they had greater cause to fear than before ) upon the morrow thereafter, with the assistance of 6 or 7 whom they joined to themselves, they quietly seise upon and secure them, all of them rendering their Arms, except one who was killed in his resistance. After this; the Countrey being a little hereby alarmed, but most of all determined by their former sad experience, that *Mr James* would certainly avenge himself of this affront upon the whole Countrey, without distinction of free and unfree, and that in fury & rage, as far exceeding his former persecutions, as the cause was different, they gatherto the number 54 Horsemen with some few Footmen, and instantly resolving upon it, they march towards *Dumfreis*, where upon the 15 of November they take *Sir James* prisoner, and disarm the Souldiours that were with him, without harm or violence to any, except the wounding of one man who made more obstinate resistance. Being thus by the overruling hand of Divine Providence, & the force of irresistible necessity, more than by any humane contrivance, engaged in a business of this importance beyond all hope of retreat; and considering how many in the *West* and else where, did groan under the yoke of this wicked Prelacy, and did suffer by their Tyranny, whom the just apprehension of that rigour and cruelty, to which the report of what had hapned would desinrage the Adversaries against all without distinction, syfing night perswade yea necessitate to a conjunction, they then from *Dnmfreis* move towards the *West*. In the mean time,

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the report being brought to the Council , the Arct bish:shop Presiding & overruling in it, Lieut. General Dalzel is immediatly ordered to march with all the Forces toward Glasgow ; which accordingly was done, with more haste, rage , and fury , than if 10000. Infidels had with fire and sword invaded the Land : And a Proclamation is emitted against the Rebels (as they called them) risen in Arms in Galloway , Air , and others Places of the West , (when as at this time there were not 40. Men in the Sheriffdom of Air , who had joyned with them) declaring this Insurrection to be manifest and horrid Rebellion , and therefore charging the persons accessory , to lay down Arms within 24. hours after publication, without any assurance of Indemnity offered , and lastly , commanding the whle Subjects to be affiting to the Lieutenant General , and being required by him or others in Authority , to rise in Arms , and assist wth their Power , under the Pain of Rebellion . A Proclamation so full of fury and madness , not only rendering such as were in Arms desperate without hope, except in the cruel mercy of the wicked Prelates; But also engaging all without distinction , either Actively to concurre to the destroying of these poor , innocent and afflicted People , or else to prepare themselves for suffering the same pains and punishment , that it may justly be wondred at , that even the single motive of this Proclamation , did not procure to these Galloway men , a greater concourse . But the poor handfull being come towards the West , and some hundreds there, (whom partly the like pressures and fear of worse , but most of all , the sense and remembrance of the indispensible obligation of the Holy Covenant , for mutual sympathy and defence , and our uttermost endevours all the dayes of our lives to prosecute the great and blessed Ends thereof , did thereto determine ) having in the sincerity and simplicity of their hearts , joind themselves to that company , most harmelesly and inoffensively , without the least violence or exaction done

any, they march through the Countrey until they come to Lanerk. Where, upon the consideration of the Lords wrath, imminent upon the whole land by reason of breach of Covenant, and the many horrid Sins thereon ensuing, and the apprehension of His holy displeasure yet continuing, (whereof, by many visible and afflicting signs and tokens, they were most sadly convinced) as men reduced to the last extremity and in great distress (after the example of Nehemiah and the Jewes, *Neb. Chap. 9, and 10.* in the like case) they resolve and do renew the *Solemn League and Covenant*: That (at least) by this Action they might bear Testimony both to the oppressed Cause and Truth of God and their own innocence. From Lanerk upon the 26 of November they march to Bathgate, and the morrow thereafter to Colington, a place about two miles distant from Edinburgh. That same night *Lieut. Gen. Dalzel* coming to Calder, there is a *Cessation* agreed to betwixt them for that night, and until, upon the morrow, their grievances and Petition might be presented to the Council; which they for that effect send to *Dalzel* to be by him transmitted. But as, notwithstanding of this *Cessation*, (and though the same was timously signified to the *Bishop* as *President of the Council*, yet] the Countrey Troops levied about Edinburgh, were not restrained from making an in-fall upon their Quarters, where they rested securely upon the trust of the *Cessation*; so upon the morrow, before almost they were aware, & without giving up the *Cessation* agreed to, *Dalzel* finding a nearer way doth almost surprize them: Whereupon they endeavour to march off, but finding the Enemy so near, they are constrained to stand to, & prepare for that Conflict upon the South of Pentlandhills: Wherein the *Lieut. Generals* forces & theirs being engaged, the very time & hour that the Gentleman sent by *Dalzel* to the Council, was presenting his letters and the *Westland* men Grievances; these poor men not exceeding eight or nine hundreds, and extremely weakened and spent by

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sore travail and watching, and mostly by their fasting and great abstinence, are (according to the Holy, Wise and determinate Council of God) a little after sun set routed & dissipated. The number of the slain on both sides were reckoned, about 40. and upwards of the *Westlandmen*, and 4. or 5. of the Generals Forces. The number of the prisoners was greater, amounting in all to 130. and upward: But, because the threed of this story hath precipitated our narration of this fatal period, the observations following will supply what is omitted.

1. That these men who rose in the *Wrest*, were not only (for the most part) persons of known and very exemplary integrity, piety and zeal for God, and all of them severally and jointly so far from base and turbulent designes, that they cannot be supposed by any who know them, to have been Ambitious of either Rule or Riches; but also did with the same直ness and sincerity, in all parts, declare, that their only Motives were the rigour of extreme Necessity, which constrained them to the defence of Religion and Liberty, and the Conscience of that indispensible duty, we all owe to God and one to another, in the bond of the Holy Covenant; & in the innocency of a most harmless deportment, did fully conform themselves to these professions. so that it may truly be affirmed, that a company of more sincere, upright and harmless men, did never in any age appear in such a posture. Which as it doth eminently appear, in their sparing and civil usage of Sir James Turner, and their abstinence & moderation in all places, not only from Plunder and such insolencies: but even from the necessary means of Subsistence; so it is a truth so certain, that all their enemies [save a few prophanes Curates, who spare no lies where they may vent their malice] must and do acknowledge it.

2. That as in many places, there were many found, who joined themselves to the Lieut. General's Forces, to afflict and suppress that faithful afflicted company; so the

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Militia of Edinburgh (by order from the *Secret Council* to the *Town Council*, & from the *Town Council* to the several *Captains*, who did administrate it to their respective *Companies*) did, in opposition to the same persons, take the following Oath, viz. *I shall be true and faithful to the King, and shall defend his Authority and maintain the same, against this Insurrection & Rebellion, & any other that shall happen, with the hazard of my life and fortune;* And the two *Shires* of Middle and East *Lauthians* did arm very readily against them: But whether this *Insurrection* was in *Rebellion* against the King, or whether this *Conjuration* and these *Practices*, were not a manifest *Conspiracy* and horrid *Rebellion* against the great God, a few *Reflections* on what we have premised shall hereafter clear.

3. That as only the force of Necessity, from the rigour of their persecutions, and the cutting off of all liberty to Petition or hope of Redress, did compel the *West land* men to this course, so upon the first appearance and most slender insinuation of liberty to Represent Grievances to these in Authority, they very willingly and readily embraced the opportunity, and signified to the *Council*, that the only evil under which the Land perisheth, is the Erecting of this wicked and tyrannous *Prelacy* contrary to the *Holy Covenant*, & the cruel opprestion, both in Body and Conscience of all that desire to continue Faithfull therein, but how they were abused in this offer and Transaction, we have before related.

4. That though the wicked Prelats (for the greater exaltation of their pride and triumph, both over God and his Cause) boldly affirmed, that these men were by certain Faithfull Ministers perswaded and brought out, in the full assurance of most certain Victory, and that their Cause was such, that upon the Event they could venture their salvation; yet the contrary is most certainly known, and that they came out, for the most part, most voluntarily and of their own accord; thinking it their duty (as one of them in his *Testimony doth declare*) to appear for and help the

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Lord against the mighty : And that, though they had still retain a most firm perswasion of the justice of the Lord's Cause and Covenant, and a very confident assurance that the Lord will arise and own it, to the utter confusion of His adversaries ; Yet, knowing that Times and Season are in the Lord's hand, and that the time hath already been, when such who had indignation, and whose heart was against the holy Covenant did prosper, and by Arms pollute the Sanctuary strength, and place the Abomination that maketh desolate, wherein, though the people that did know their God were strong and did exploits, yet did they fall by the sword, and by flame and by captivity, and by spoil many dayes ; These men did neither limit the Holy One, nor ballance their resolution upon the assurance of future Events : Yea the fear and apprehension of these many visible signs attending this Action, whereby the Lord's standing controversie and continuing displeasure against the Land, for fearfull breach of Covenant, and the many horrible sins that have ensued ( which then more than ever were discovered, both in the actuall opposition of many, and faint withdrawing of others, of whom better things were looked for ) did justly make them conceive, that as the Lord, who hath ever glorified His own Name, would also now glorify it, both in their active and passive Testimony ( a seal which His work and Cause, hath not hitherto so visibly had ) And that they were rather thereto called, than to be the Lands Deliverers; for which, all that fear the Lord may think with trembling, greater judgments are yet ordained.

5. That amongst the many observable providences of God, whereby he brought this Action to its period, the turning from Lanerk towards Edinburgh, and leaving the West, specially these parts where many faithful men were preparing for a Conjunction, doth bear the very eminent characters of the Lord's Work and Purpose, which he hath since made manifest ; and wasthe occasion of the proscribing of several both Ministers and Gentlemen, as shall hereafter mention:

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6. That as the Liutbian men were very active in appearing against this faithful company ; so after the Conflict, they were very vigilant and inhumane to take and spoil all such flyers as they rencountred : A sin which no doubt, by reason of its greater aggravations , the Lord will require with greater severity , than that of Edom , Obad. 12. &c. who rejoiced over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction , and laid hands on their substance in the day of their calamity , who stood in the cross way to cut off such as did escape , and delivered up these that did remain in the day of distress ; and therefore he is threatned by the Lord , that For his violence against his brother , shame should cover him , and he should be cut off for ever.

Thus we have seen the indignation of the Lord , in the most dreadful and astonishing of all judgements , even his suffering & causing the righteous to fall before the wicked , in delivering the soul of his turtle dove unto the multitude of the wicked . His Name unto reproach and blasphemy , His Strength into captivity , His Glory into the enemies hands , Aprovidence that may justly move our astonishment to a greater height than that of Josuah c. 7. 9. Oh Lord , what wilt thou do unto thy great Name ? And how terrible are the charge and succeeding Judgements which these things do denounce ? But the Lord who in wrath remembers mercy , maketh both judgement and mercy his peoples song , and it is to his enemies alone that a cup without mixture is poured out ; as the things which follow will declare .

The *Archbishop of St. Andrews* having caused celebrate the report of this Victory , with almost as many Guns from the Castle as there were men slain in the fields , and as if the 40. had been 40000. Infidels , the prisoners are brought in , and secured . We cannot but here mention the ready and charitable relief , which many good people in Edinburgh did then extend to them ; certainly it is gone up for a Memorial before God , & shall have a return . But who

who can express the malice of that Antichristian Spirit, raging both in the *Arch Prelate* and his dependents, which milery it self doth not satiate; and therefore they do so **exclaim** against this poor expression of humanity, as preposterous andavouring of disaffection, that even some of their own Complices did condemn them for it.

The *Council* falling immediately to the examination of the Prisoners, they remit first 10, thereafter 14. to the *Justices* to be arraigned, or rather condemned as Traitors, they having first determined and prescribed the very manner of their execution: And about the same time the *Commissioner* going West, with some other empowered for that effect, do likewise at *Air* and *Glasgow*, condemn other sixteen. These things we joyn together, because both their Indictments, manner of Tryal, Doom and Execution were the same, except in so far as shall be noted. The Indictment and Charge of Treason exhibited against all, consisted of two heads and crimes, deduced from old and late Acts of Parliament, and aggravated by many circumstances, viz. *rising and gathering in Arms, and renewing the Covenant, without and against the Kings Authority and consent*: Every ones particular accession was labelled from, and proven by his own confession before the *Council*. This place might require a large digression for answering the crimes objected, & clearing the innocency of the Lords Witnesses, but seeing the preceeding Narration doth not only furnish all arguments thereto requisite, but warranteth them by Precedents beyond contradiction, it shall suffice now to observe.

1. That God the Fountain of all Power, and Author of all Right, as, wherever he hath granted to any creature a Being, he hath also armed it with a love and power of *Self Preservation* suitable to its capacity; so much more, where, unto a Being, He hath superadded a Right, as in all rational creatures, which cannot be violated but

both

both by force & Injury, hath He granted both the Power and Right of *Self defence*, which is really one and the same thing with it; and in effect nothing else but that divine Impress and rational Instinct, whereby the very course of Nature is upholding, so inseparable from the Being and Right of the creature, that it never ceaseth, except where by the Sovereign Will and Law of God, the Right is first annulled, and the Being may be destroyed. Which position, being the clear and true foundation of all Rule and Righteousness, and even of the Being of all things, it may justly be wondered, that men should be found, who deny and would subvert it in its first, principal and most immediate effects. But if according hereunto any will subsume and prove, that either by the Lords ordaining of powers, or mens Surrender & Submission thereto, (made mainly for Self preservation,) the foresaid Right and Power was or could be revoked or renounced, we shall most willingly quite the plea, and prostitute our selves to all the violences that Tyranny can invent, since in that case there could be no Injury.

2. That as all Societies, Governments and Lawes are appointed in a due Subordination to God and His superior Will and Law, for His Glory and the Common Good of the People, including the safety of every individual; so, if either this Subordination be notoriously infringed, or these Ends intolerably perverted, the common tie of both Society, Government and Law, is in so far dissolved. Hence is it that a King or Rulers commanding things directly contrary to the Law of God, may be and have been justly disobeyed, and by fury or folly destroying or alienating the Kingdome, may be and have been lawfully resisted. These are conclusions which our greatest Adversaries cannot but admit, and are not deducible from any other premisses. Let us hear King James, whose loyalty none can doubt, in a speech to the Parliament in the year 1609. he saith, *a King de-*  
*gene-*

generateth into a Tyrant, when he leaveth to rule by Law, much more when he beginneth to invade his Subjects persons , right and liberties , to set up an arbitrary power , impose unlawful Taxes , raise forces , make war upon his Subjects , to pillage, plunder, wast, and spoil his Kingdomes. And lest his inconsequence be suspected , as if notwithstanding all this , he would have a Tyrant incontrolable , it is upon the same grounds , that in his answer to *Cardinal Perron*, he justifyeth the Protestants in *France* their Defensive Arms; Now how a discrete judgement in these cases , both of unrighteous commands , and wicked violence , and specially in the latter, which is (by far) the more sensible, doth necessarily remain with the People , and in what manner the same is to be determined and cautioned , so as neither to license disobedience against Authority , nor create sedition in the Commonwealth , is already fully cleared.

3. That though all Sovereign Powers , (upon the supposition of these true and great ends , and the presumption of reason and charity , that the persons intrusted do in like manner really intend them,) be constituted indefinitely, and therefore in appearance universally without restriction ; yet according to this known rule , that such particulars , as if expressed , would not (far more if they cannot) be consented to , are not understood to be comprised under a generall condescendence , such exceptions and limitations as are indispensibly implied and could not lawfully be expressly renounced , do stand in full force. Whereupon also both the Righteousness of God's judgments , and the Lawfulness of the Peoples Resistance against mal-versing Powers , are clearly and certainly founded.

4. That not only the light of Nature and undeniable Reason, together with the agreeable Practice of all Nations , specially of our Ancestors, do evidently clear these Principles proposed , but also our own express Statutes

declaring the revealed Word and Will of God to be the Superior Rule and Law, and repealing all Acts repugnant thereto. *Jac. 6. Par. I. chap. 3, 4, & 8.* and explaining such Acts as were generally made against unlawful Convocations, Leagues and Bonds among Subjects, to be understood with this due Subordination and limitation *Car. I. Par. I. c. 29.* together with the King and Peoples Oaths of faithful Administration and Allegiance: whereby the Coronation-Covenant & Contract, specially that made with this King (the very bond of the Kingdom) is established & secured, do undoubtedly inferre, beyond all contradiction, that both our Government and Lawes are constituted and to be interpreted with *Subordination to the Law and Will of God*, and in order to these great Ends of their establishment.

5. That though prevailing Factions have in all times endeavoured, by their most excessive and boundless flatteries, to exalt and extend the Powers to an equal degree of absoluteness in all Causes and over all Persons, meerly for their own base ends and private advantages; yet if any of these persons would seriously consider, and would ingenuously declare their opinion, in a particular application of the case to themselves, what they would account lawfull for them to do, either jointly or separately, in case that they were injuriously and violently invaded, to the destruction of their Lives or Fortunes, or the subversion of their Families and dearest and nearest Concernments, their resolution in this point would easily justify the practices of all such, who, esteeming the Glory of God, & the maintenance of His Gospel, infinitely preferable to all other Interests whatsoever, do valiantly offer and expose themselves for the vindication thereof, to the greatest hazards.

6. That through the manifest and notorious Perversion of the great Ends of Society and Government, the Bond thereof being dissolved, the persons, one or more thus li-

liberated therefrom , do relapse into their prime Liberty and Priviledge , and accordingly as the similitude of their case and exigence of their cause doth require , upon the very same principles again join and associate for their better Defence and Preservation , as they did at first enter into Societies .

7. That we being a Nation so solemnly and expressly engaged by Covenant unto God , and one with another for the advancing and promoving of these holy and important Ends therein contained ; there lyeth upon and every one of us an indispenfible duty , by all possible means to promote the same , not only in our own conscientious and exemplary walking , and serious admonition and exhortation towards others ; but also in endeavouring (in case of Defection) a National Reformation , & valiant vindication of the Glory of God , and His Work and Cause , against all incorrigible Apostates ; as we would not by conniving at their sin be partakers of their Judgement , and as we would by destroying the *accusation* from amongst us , avert the imminent wrath of God from the whole Land and Nation . Which position as we clearly before asserted , both from the Profession and Practice of our first Reformers ; so , that qualification in the Covenant of our endeavours in our places and callings , is most agreeable thereto : seeing the same doth plainly import , that every one is to confine himself to his own place and more in his own sphere , while all in their respective capacities do harmoniously concurre in the same work and duty so if any in higher place and imployment , do not only become remiss and forgetful of the Oath of God ; but according to the extent and influence of their power would seduce and corrupt their inferiours unto their Apostacy , it is both their place to resist such wickedness and violence , and their calling to endeavour , either the Reformation or Removal of these who prove so contrary to , and obstructive of the ends whereunto they are

ordained

ordained. Neither can this inference appear unwarranted or hard unto any who will impartially consider, that though the same qualification doth in the like manner affect and define all duties whatsoever, which we owe either to God or our Coun:rey; yet it were most absurd thence to inferre, that if these more eminently intrusted should either turn directly Apostates and enemies to the Christian Faith, or adversaries and destroyers of the Commonwealth, the people of an inferior degree might not step forward to occupy the places, and assert the Interests, which these wicked men had so traiterously forfaulted and deserted. All which must necessarily be granted, if it be but rightly considered, that as Order and the Observance thereof, is only a mean subordinate to, and intended for the Glory of God and the good of the people; so must all the Regulation and Determination thereof be only admitted, in so far as it is Conducible, and no wayes to render it Destructive or Repugnant to these great Ends of its appointment. From all which we clearly conclude that these words in the Covenant of *Places and Callings*, are no more Restrictive in the cases above mentioned than a Generals command to his souldiours entring in battel (being thus qualified) doth impede the necessity of Succession (in case of the vacancy of any charge, either through death or desertion) requisit for the obtaining of the proposed end of Victory; but that they are in effect (specially the antecedent and subjoyned words *sincerely; really and constantly, - all the dayes of our life* being considered) rather Exegetick and Ampliative:

8. That whosoever Laws, Covenants & Engagements were standing & binding unto us, before this late fearful Apostacy and Defection, they are still in the sight of God, and in the Consciences of all that fear his Name, and mind his Glory, the rather more strong and obliging than in the least infringed or dissolved: It being impossible that

such Sacred Oaths ( so solemnly sworn unto the most High ) and such Righteous Laws by vertue thereof statuted and enacted , for the carrying on , and establishment of the Work of God thereby intended , should be Ambulatory and Mutable at the pleasure of men ; specially of such , who , without regard of God , Conscience , Honour or Honesty , have , in the very pride and power of Wickedness , not only broken the Lords bands , cast away His cords , and violently ( under the pretext of abused Authority ) overturned his whole Work ; but done despite against the same , both by ignominious Burning and Blaspheming of the Lords holy Covenant . And this *Position Resessory* we oppose unto their great *Act Resessory* , and to all Acts and practices of the like nature antecedent thereto , or dependent thereupon . Being fully perswaded , that though now they appear unequally ballanced , yet the Lord shall declare from heaven His Righteousness , and laugh at his enemies Acts and Dencies , and have them all in derision .

9. That though we do heartily approve the Due veneration and just esteem of *lawfull Authority* , (the great and excellent Ordinance of God) who to prevent all prejudice that it may incurre , and inconvenience that may ensue thereon , do so far transmit his respect to the person therewith vested , as to hold for a Maxime (but indeed equally against Religion , Reason and Experience) that *the King doth no wrong* ; And though we are perswaded , that the true rise and cause of the sin and calamity under which we lye , is from the malice , perjury , flatery and violence of that Antichristian spirit ruling in the apostat Prelates ; and therefore would willingly cloath our selves , even in the sight of man , with that ample Allowance and full Authority , whereby the King did once approve the holy Covenant , and countenance the Lords Work , as if the same did yet stand (as it ought) not retracted or repeal'd . Yet seeing our late Parliament

by their second Act, *Selton second*, have reprobated and discharged all pretences of Authority in this kind, notwithstanding that the same hath been, and may be most necessary in many cases, for the preserving of the Kingdom, & salving of State-inconveniences; we do therefore rather subsist on the former grounds, and turn our complaint and prayer unto God, who is the great King over all, looking for His appearance, and waiting for His salvation.

10. That the Glory of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Defence and Maintenance of the blessed Gospel, and its precious Ministry and Ordinances, are Duties and Concernments infinitely more important, than the defence and preservation of our Lives, Liberties and the Commonwealth, against the most barbarous and horrid violences and injuries that can be imagined: Likeas, the violation and destruction of all these is so evidently designed, and wickedly practised, by this late and present Apostacy, that a clearer ground and cause of Self defence and Reformation cannot possibly be supposed; so that to condescend to answer the peevish clamours of these Neutral and careleſs men, who say, *what needeth all this noise for the extrinſick and arbitrary forms of Government and modes of Worſhip, both with and without which, Religion and Righteousness have equally flouriſhet and proſpered?* Were to shut our eyes from beholding the Glory and Grace of God, that in this Land hath so visibly appeared in, and been advanced by this great Ordinance of Presbytery, by himself (for that end) appointed; and also from the observing of these deluges of Prophanity, Wickedness, Superstition & Violence, which the Devil, by his great engine of Prelacy, hath alwayes and in all Churches caused and procured.

11. That as such was the State, Condition and Engagements of this Church and Kingdom, at the time of the Kings return, and before the reerecting of this Prelacy,

that all and every one of the Nation were most strictly obliged *sincerely, really and constantly* to have resisted and opposed this wicked Defection to the last drop of their blood; so the sinful compliance of many, and woful fainting and withdrawing of others, might indeed incapacitat such as remain faithful from the *best*, but neither could nor can disengage them from their *utmost* endeavours.

From the Grounds and what hath been formerly represented, the argument of the Inditement of Treason above mentioned viz. *That all Convocations and Risings in Arms, or Subjects entering into Leagues, without or against the King's Authority, are treasonable: But such was the late Rising and renewing of the Covenant, Therefore &c.* May be easily and clearly answered, that all such Risings and entering into Leagues, as are not warranted and commanded by the Superior Law and Authority of God (who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords) which by our own express Acts and Statutes are acknowledged, and are not founded upon the Fundamental Right, and necessarily intended for the preservation of Religion and Righteousness, the great and principal End of all Laws & Governments, according whereunto our Laws have also by posterior Statutes been expressly interpreted, are indeed treasonable: But such the late Rising was not; but on the contrary was more clearly approven by these grounds, than any other the like Instance, which can be adduced or instructed, from the parallel of any other Age or Nation; Therefore it was altogether Lawful, Righteous and Necessary. Which answer, though the Lords faithful Witnesses did sufficiently insinuat and propone, yet both the Constitution of the Court, and persons of the Judges before whom they were arraigned, were such, as the same was rather accounted an aggravation of their Crime and Treason.

But seeing this was not done, without the specious pre-

text,

texts, not only of iniquous Laws, but also of Religion and Scripture; We shall briefly consider, first, that Queree often made to them, where they had read, or how they could instruct, that, under the pretence of Religion, it is lawful for Subjects to rise in Rebellion against lawful Authority? To which it is answered, that this Queree is a clear beginning of the question, by expressly supposing that the late Rising was only in pretence for Religion, but really in Rebellion, which ought first to have been proved, and is in effect an arrant calumny and falsehood. 2. That even the Querce it self seems to imply and grant, that for Subjects to rise in Arms really for the defence of Religion, against the invasions of the Powers, under the pretence of Lawful Authority, is both lawful & laudable: Which being the true case and cause of this late Rising, and so clearly warranted both by the Word and Covenant of God, and the practice of all Reformed Churches; we are content to referre these poor mens Innocency, unto the Consciences and secret thoughts of their adversaries.

Secondly, we shall consider these texts of Scripture which were pretended against the Innocents: And 1. It was much urged that *Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft*; To which one of themselves did roundly and clearly answer, that, the place having been spoken by the Prophet to a King, because of his disobedience and contempt of the command of God, and not to Subjects, would sooner conclude his Accusers than himself to be a Rebel. Secondly, it is answered, that Rising up against Authority it self, the Ordinance of God, and disobeying the Powers therewith vested, standing and acting in their *right line of Subordination*, is indeed Rebellion, and as the sin of witchcraft; but to resist and rise up against persons abusing sacred Authority and rebelling against God the Supreme, is rather to adhere to God as our Liege Lord, and to vindicate both our selves and his abused Ordinances from mans wickedness and Tyranny.

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The second text objected was that , *Matth. 26. 52.* where even our Lord himself , when violently seized upon by wicked men , but who were then in Authority, did nevertheless restrain his disciples from his own defence and rescue , saying unto *Pet. r* , *Put up again the sword into his place : for all they that take the sword , shall perish with the sword ;* To which , as it was sufficiently answered (without any reply) by one of these Impeached , (whom they accounted distracted , though without the least appearance of impertinency) who thereto did oppone *Luke 22. 36.* Where our Lord . speaking at the same time and to the same purpose , saith , *he that bath no sword , let him sell his garment , and buy one ;* Yet for further clearing , we say , 1. That from the place it self in all the *Evangelists* , it is most evident , that that command was given , and these words spoken by our Lord , only for to testify his voluntar submission unto the Fathers will , by laying down of his life for fulfilling of the Scripture , as is clear from the same 26. of *Matth.v. 54.* and *John 18.11.* otherwise the context being considered (that not only in *Luke 22:36* cited , He , forewarning his disciples of hazards to come , adviseth them to provide swords and weapons ; and in the 26. of *Matt.* asserts his power to have called 12 legions of Angels to his assistance , which clearly implies the lawfulness thereof) this Scripture objected doth more confirm than impugn the Lawfulness of *Defensive Arms*. 2. Is it possible that men should be so much demented by flattery , as to think that it was unlawful for Jesus Christ the Mighty God and Lord over all , to have defended himself by the assistance of his Disciples , against the horrid Wickedness and Insurrection of the vilest of His creatures , had it not been , that it was necessary that the Scriptures concerning him should be accomplished? 3. Where our Lord saith in the place objected , *all they that take the sword , shall perish with the sword,*

as He thereby only condemneth Unjust and Offensive war; so the Saying it self , by its latter part , doth tacitly imply the Lawfulness and Justice of both *Defensive* and *Vindictive Arms*, the same being otherwise justly founded.

Though these Texts were only objected , yet to help our Adversaries , who are known not to be much convervant in the Scriptnre , and to obviate the scruples that may thence arise to others , we subjoyn a third text *John 18. 36.* where our Lord saith , *if my Kingdom were of this world , then would my servants fight , that I should not be delivered to the Iewes*, whence some inferre , that all Arms , even in Defence of Religion , are unlawfull and prohibited ; But it is answered , as the intent and scope of our Lord's answer , was to clear himself of that calumny objected against Him by the Iewes , that he made Himself a King in opposition to *Casir* , so the meaning of it is plain and obvious , to wit , that our Lord's Kingdom is not of the Nature and for the Ends , for which other Kingdoms of this world were instituted ; but wholly spiritual for declaring the Truth , and thereby gaining souls unto glory: Whence as our Lord would there inferre that he came not to conquer to himself Disciples by outward force , and thereby to gain followers by the spoiling of *Casar* and other Princes ; so it is without all shadow of connexion thence to conclude , that a people having received the blessing of the Gospel and Kingdom of Jesus Christ , should without Resistance suffer themselves (to the manifest dishonour of God and the hazard of the eternal damnation of themselves and their posterity) to be impiously and sacrilegiously spoiled and deprived thereof , when they are in a capacity to defend the same. The truth whereof , together with the hypocrisy of our Adversaries , may soon be discovered , if the Question be but stated in the terms of one Forraign and independent Prince's invading another , meerly upon the account of

the Christian Faith ; and whatever solution or evasion they shall herein make , will as exactly quadrate to the case in hand , it being almost ridiculous to conceive, that the greatest aggravation of Invasions of this Kind , to wit, that it is made by a Prince upon his own Subjects (whose Profession he himself is principally bound to maintain) should import any speciality and difference in the cases. The last text is that of *Matt. 5. 39* and remanent verses to the end , where our Lord saith ; *resist not evill, but who soever shall smite thee, &c.* with the other parallel places, specially *Rev. 13. 10*. But it is answered. that as these places do enjoyn either patience, when the clear call and dispensations of God do inevitably call unto suffering , without which, patience, were no patience but rather stupidity; or that bounty and debonairety which our Lord would have his disciples to practise , in the remitting and dispensing with the utmost extensions and points of Right , for the better reproving and condemning of the animosities and rigid contentions of men , for matters of small or no moment , and the more effectuall commanding the grace and peace of the Gospel ; So thence to inferre that men should give way to all Violence and Sacrilege (to the subverting of Religion and Righteousnes) is, after the manner of Sathan . to cheat and abuse men by the holy Scriptures of Truth unto wickedness and error; and grossly to exceed that signal rule mainly in these places intended , to wit , that we should be perfect even as our Father which is in Heaven is perfect , who , though he filleth the earth with his goodness , and extendeth his bounty unto all , causing the Sun to rise upon the evill and on the good , yet doth he love righteousness , and helpeth and delivereth the oppressed , and commandeth the zeal of his own glory (wherein He himself doth often eminently appear) by the hand of His people , to take vengeance on His adversaries. Let us therefore in the consideration of what is said *Rev. 13. 10.* be that leaders in

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captivity, shall go into captivity ; he that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword , both possess our souls in patience under all the former sufferings , and hope and rejoice in the faith of the succeeding delivery there subjoyned.

These are the Defences which these Faithful men did summarily hint at, and being often interrupted, were scarcely permitted to propone : All which being rejected as unworthy to be heard, what wonder , if what their Advocates did plead in their defence , upon the point of Quarter given to some of them in the field , was also repelled ? We are not to dip in matters of this kind ; but certainly it much discovereth the spirit of malice and violence that now prevaileth , that neither the Nature and Impert of Quarter, which pertaineth nothing to Grace or Pardon (whereof these men were declared incapable) but is a paction of the Law of Nations , whereby the person worsted , by quiting of his arms, (the only and oftentimes the probable means either of his safety or vengeance) doth condition for , and redeem his immunitie as to life ; Nor yet the honour of the Granters , Persons Commissionated by the King for the command of his Forces , with the common Priviledges and dignities belonging to such Offices ; Nor yet the Practice of all Nations about, even in the case of Intestine War ; Nor the rational arguments of humanity and prudence , not to reduce men to utter despair in succeeding Insurrections (from which no Kingdom is priviledged) Nor lastly , the Paucity of these few innocents , not exceeding 5 or 6 who coul' have been thereby benefited (there being many other taken and not upon Quarter) could prevail against that Pedantick distinction *inter bellum justum & injustum.* But this being alleaged to have been *bellum injustum* , (as indeed it was in the justest sense) therefore no faith nor Quarter must be herein observed , *quia, sc. adversus Hostes tantum est Bellum, ac in Perduelles, judicium,* as if from this , one should conclude, that though in War there may be faith and Quarter,

yet in *Judgement* there ought neither to be Truth nor Performance.

All defences therefore being repelled, these persons accused were all condemned to be hanged to death as Traitors, and their Heads and right Hands to be cut off, to be disposed on by the *Council*, and their Goods and Estates to be forfaulter to the King's use. And accordingly upon several dayes, this Sentence was executed upon thirty five of these faithful men, and by Ordinance of *Council*, the heads of many of them were affixed upon the Ports of several Burghs; and the right hands of the first ten (to the high contempt of God and His holy Covenant, and to the provocation of His jealousy) on the *Tolbooth of Lanark*, where the Covenant was by them solemnly renewed and sworn. As for the other five, they were and are reprimed; One of them, who in all his Tryall, to the conviction of all appeared most constant in the Covenant, and bold and pertinent in his Testimony, upon the colour of a fit of distraction (by which he was once vexed) and through the intercession of many in his behalf; Another of them, for his vile and abject fainting to the very reproach of humanity, redeeming his life by becoming Hangman to seven of his fellows, when two ordinary Executioners in the Burghs about had plainly refused, declaring they would have nothing to do with the blood of such Righteous men; and one of them therefore imprisoned. The other three, partly because of their fainting and condescendence to take the *Declaration*, and partly through the favour and intercession of Friends.

We shall not, nor cannot enter upon the particular declaration of that Grace, Constancy and Courage, by which the Lords faithful Witnesses were sustained; and did bear Testimony to the Word of his Truth, the holy Covenant, and the Cause and Work of God. Only this is certain, that the Lord did not more desert that vile abject person to the weakness of flesh and blood, whereby he was depressed

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below the very contempt of men , then by his Grace ,  
and Glory , evidently to manifest the power thereof , He  
was eminently present with such as he honoured to be his  
Witnesses , to cause them contemn and triumph over  
Principalities and Powers , hell and death , and all their  
terrors ; as may be evident from these things follow-  
ing .

1. That the *Council* , pitching upon those men without  
choice , for a Test of discrimination did require several of  
them , by taking the *Declaration* , to renounce the Cova-  
enant ; which they constantly refused . And so were Mar-  
tyred , not accepting deliverance , that they might obtain  
a better resurrection .

2. That *Mr Haw Mackaile* , a young man of 25. years  
of age , and an Expectant in the Ministry , being arraigned  
and accused through meer spite of the *Archbishop of St*  
*Andrewes* , (against whose *Judas-like Apostacy* he had  
preached four years ago ) for no greater accession , than  
that he had been some few dayes with these that rose , with  
a sword ( having been most uncircumspectly taken , leav-  
ing them because of his iusfirmity and weakness the day  
before the Conflict ) did not only most patiently endure  
cruel Torture whereby he was examined , for the dis-  
covery of the contrivance of that Rising , which all men  
knew and saw to be Indeliberat ; but , notwithstanding  
the promise of favour plainly made to him upon condition  
of ingenuity (which he sincerely used) being also con-  
demned , did utterly reject all insinuations made unto  
him upon condition of the least Retraction ; and bitterly  
mourning for , and repenting of his apparent fainting  
and relinquishing , though it really proceeded more from  
his infirmity , than fear or love of life , but rejoicing in  
his own folly , whereby the Lord did bring him to such  
a manifestation of his Grace , and declaration of his Glo-  
ry , he , to the admiration of all , in his most constant &

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Christian suffering, by his blood sealed the Truth and glorified God.

3. That others of them, though obscure and illiterate men, upon the Scaffold hurried and interrupted in the declaring of their Testimony, by the Prelats Orders, and the rudeness and inhumanity of these that executed them; yet did bear witness to the cause of God, and of that grace and assurance, whereby the Lord upheld them, to the admiration and astonishment of all the beholders.

4. That though at *Glasgow* and *Air*, where eleven of them were executed, [all mean Countrey men, and some of them of decrepit age, and others of them very young, not exceeding 18. years] their enemies caused beat drums about the Scaffold that they might not be heard [a barbarity never practised in *Scotland*, and rarely heard of, except in the Duke of *Alva*s Martyring of the Protestants in the *Low countreyes*] yet were they so little thereby amazed, that both by words of Praise and thanksgiving to God, that had honoured such *plough men* [as they termed themselves] to be his witnesses, and the constancy of their countenance and whole carriage, they did bear such testimony to the holy Covenant, as both many were thereby confirmed, and their Enemies ashamed.

5. That though some of them did appear weak and faint hearted at first, yet so powerfully and abundantly was it given to them in that hour, that out of weakness they were made strong; and declared that they had seen such glimpses of the Glory of God betwixt the prison and the Scaffold, that all fear was clearly dismissed; And particularly a young Countrey boy, not much above sixteen years of age, being condemned at *Air*, mostly because he did refuse to take the Declaration, which they told him, was the renouncing of that Covenant which he had taken at *Lanerks*; and though, both through fear and ignorance of the very grounds of Christianity, he fell into great anxiety,

niety, neither daring to die, nor yet to redeem his life at the rate proposed; Yet after the Prayers and Conference of some that had access to him at Irwin two dayes before his death, on the morning that he suffered, he appeared no much changed, both from the depth of fear and perplexity unto great resolution and joy, & so much enlightened, with the knowledge of God in our Lord Jesus Christ, and the hope of Salvation through His Name, that all that saw him, do bear testimony to the Grace and wonderful Work of God, and of that joy of heart, that carried him to the Scaffold, leaping and praising God.

From all which particulars, and from the several Testimonies and Speeches, which these left behind them in writing, we must conclude and rejoice, that God out of the dark cloud of such a sad and astonishing providence which lately over spread us, hath brought forth so blessed and bright a cloud of Witnesses, strengthened and filled with so much grace and glory, to bear Testimony unto His Name, Covenant and Cause and for the confirmation of all that love and wait for His Salvation.

We have hitherto omitted, to say any thing to that Oath of Conjuration taken by the Militia of Edinburgh, and the concurrence and assistance of many others, who did either Actually rise in Arms for the Suppressing of God's People and Cause, or since the Conflict did stop, apprehend, and spoil them in the cross way, and have been assisting and abetting to their deaths and persecutions, either as Guards of Prisons, Courts or Scaffolds, as to Judges, Clerks, Advocats, Assessors, or Officers in the Dooms pronounced against them. If, after all the truth, equity and reason that have been represented, and the Power and Glory which God hath declared, men will not hear and fear, nor be converted, neither the tongues of men and Angels, nor of such as should return from the dead, would

be

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be of any force or persuasion to prevail with them. Is it  
possible, that Edinburgh should think that the pretence of  
new invented Oath of Allegiance and fidelity to the King  
& for the defence of his Authority against all Insurrections  
and Rebellions, wherein the Prelates and the Up hold  
their wickedness, and the Subjecting of all the Godly  
their lust and tyranny, were and are clearly intended and  
designed, shall warrant them in the great day of the Lord  
(who is terrible unto the Kings of the earth) for taking part  
with Rebels and Apostats against the God of heaven, and  
for opposing and oppressing of such, as, continuing steadfast  
in the common Cause and Covenant (for which Edinburgh  
was once very honourable and eminent) did only  
endeavour to liberate themselves from that intolerable Bur-  
den both of Bodies and Consciences (more grievous than  
death) under which they groaned? doth Edinburgh then  
not only condemn the practice of Our Noble Ancestors and  
Reformers, who accounted it neither Insurrection nor  
Rebellion to set themselves for the defence of the Gospel  
against the then Powers, who did endeavour to oppress  
but by this Oath, abandon both Religion and Liberty,  
this so perillous and backsliding a Generation, to the loss  
and tyranny of abused Authority, and whatsoever it shall  
please to impose, without control or contradiction? Do  
they thus remember the National Covenant and the Solemn  
League and Covenant once so powerfully sworn and owned  
amongst them, and the mutual defence and assistance, When  
in every one of us is thereby bound to another, to the uttermost  
of our Power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever, and not  
suffer ourselves, by whatsoever Combination. Terror or Persua-  
sion, to be divided and withdrawn from that blessed Union there-  
contained? While on the contrary, they conspire and con-  
jure themselves against such, whom they are not only bound  
to assist, but also to relieve of all the persecutions and  
oppressions which they suffer and sustain, only for their  
adherence to the same holy Covenants. Surely these things  
being

Having duly considered, this Oath, in stead of qualifying  
the Declaration ( in lieu whereof, being more general,  
and insnaring it was contrived and imposed ) will  
found a practical application of all the Wickedness and  
righteousness, which is therein only speculatively decla-  
red; and may in the righteous judgement of God, by rea-  
son of not only of the equality, but even of the excess thereof  
*Londons sin*, bring upon Edinburgh, *Londons* plagues and  
judgements. We need not here insist to testify against  
the rest, who in any sort concurred or assisted in the op-  
position and persecution above mentioned, the mea-  
est part of whose accession, doth far exceed Pauls  
keeping the cloathes of such as stoned Stephen. If we consi-  
der that the suffering and not opposing, to the utmost of our  
power, the shedding of innocent blood, doth involve all  
under that certain denunciation made by Jeremiah unto the  
Princes of Iudah, and all the people, *Jer. 26: 15.* saying,  
*Know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely  
bring innocent blood upon your selves, and upon this city, and  
upon the inhabitant thereof;* the most innocent amongst us,  
will find himself more concerned to repent of his own, than  
censure others for their accession. The serious thoughts  
whereof, may and ought justly to cause us tremble, lest our  
*Manasseh like sin in shedding of innocent blood, provoke the  
Lord to wrath in such a measure as he will not pardon.*

But when we do reflect upon the rage, cruelty and bar-  
barity that have ensued, the things that we have men-  
tioned, may justly appear to be but the Beginnings of evils.  
For first, immediately after the Conflict, the Arch Prelat  
procureth a proclamation to be emitted Prohibiting the refet  
and concealment of, or correspondenc with any of the poor men  
that had escaped, or had been accessory unto the late Rising,  
and ordaining all to pursue them as the worst of Traitors,  
under the pain of being accounted guilty of the same Rebellion.  
In which Proclamation, after the Arch Bishop had impudent-  
ly and absurdly laboured, that several persons, against  
whom,

whom, not so much as any delation or ground of suspicion could be alleged, should, contrary to all reason, be insert; he at length prevailed that about 57 Gentlemen, Ministers and others, alleged more eminently guilty, should be therein by Name expressed. Certainly if it be considered, that neither Reason nor Prudence do advise to seek Security only in Revenge, but rather by an attempt of Clemency, in cases of this nature, to bring things to a composure, we must conclude, that such courses are only the product of blind prelatick-fury. 2. After the first executions at Edinburgh, the Commissioner and Lieutenant General march unto the West, and there having condemned and executed several persons, as we have before mentioned, the Lieutenant General staying behind taking up his Quarter at Kilmarnock; and there, and from thence doth practise and issue forth such orders of cruelty, as the barbarity thereof may very probably render the Narration suspected.

For 1. The Countrey is burthened with such Localities of Corn and Straw for Troop-horses, (more than double the number of these that were amongst them) that to redeem themselves from the drudgery, they not only are content to quite the prices, which the troopers ought to pay, but also to pay in to them such summs of Money, as upon computation will equalize the valued rent of the Shire.

2. Notwithstanding of all the Excise, Fines and Taxations imposed and levyed for the maintenance of these Forces; yet upon pretence of want of moneys and Pay, the souldiours were shortly thereafter permitted to take free Quarter; and consequently are licensed to all the abuses, that either rapine or cruelty may suggest.

3. Dalzel, at and by his own hand, hath privately in his own chamber and Quarters, not only by words menaced such, as after publick examination upon the account of Intelligence, had been acquitted; but also really (by fire and

and sword, threatening to kill out-right, or roast and burn alive, such who being groundlessly questioned, had upon the first examination declared all they knew) examined men by tortures.

4. Such persons as he happeneth to apprehend; whether upon the suspicion of their having been with those that rose in Arms, or having reset such after the Conflict, are thereupon ordinarily stript naked to their shirts and breeches, and thrust into Prisons, in cold, hunger, nakedness, and sometimes in extreme straitness; As in Kilmarnock into dark and obscure little holes, which being destined for one man or two, and not capacious of more (though standing upright) than ten or twelve, they are so pinched, that not one of them can possibly so much relieve himself of the continual pain of standing, by suffering his body to sink unto the ground; and unto all the former miseries have that of their own dung and excrements superadded: so that the poor men would often chuse death rather than life. Amongst which cruelties and rigours, that practised upon a petty *Heritor* in or about the Parish of *Vcbltry*, deserveth to be remembered; Who, being apprehended upon a groundless suspicion of reset of Traitors (as they term them) was brought to Kilmarnock-Tolbooth; where, being an old man full of obstructions, he was suffocated with the smoak, there occasioned by a coal fire, wanting a chimney-vent, that often-times a day the scouldiours have in derision carried him out as dead, and after a little recovery by reason of the free Air, with cruel scorn ignorantly returned him unto his prison. Which Barbarity they still continued, until by extremity of such usage, he is reduced to such weakness as there is little hope of life.

5. There is one Act, so far beyond, and without all shew and pretence of Humanity and Justice, as scarce any preface or Testimony is sufficient to perswade the belief

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ofit; which is thus. *Dalzel* having ordered a party to *Newmils* to seise and apprehend one *Finlaw*, living peaceably in his own house, and they about the time of *Dalzel's* return from *Air*, returning and bringing with them the prisoner, he instantly calleth him to his chamber, and examineth him privately (without so much as any one witness present) whether or not he was with the *Rebels* at *Lanerk*; the man in answer declarereth, that he was there when they came to the place, but upon the account of his own private affairs. The *General* asketh in the next place, whom he knew to have been there amongst them, and because the man (by declaring his ignorance) appeared unwilling to discover any, he instantly calleth the *Lieutenant* of the Guard, and giveth orders to carry the poor man to the Gallows, and there to shoot him dead. The man being thus hurried away, when he is brought to the place of execution, questioneth the *Lieutenant*, if the *General* was serious in what he had ordered: Whereunto the *Lieutenant* replyeth, that he knew nothing to the contrary; the poor man declaring his innocence, obtesteth him, both upon the grounds of Humanity and Christianity, that he would at least obtain him a reprival for that night, that he might prepare for Death and Eternity, with some opportunity prevaleth to move him to return to *Dalzel* for a grant of the licence desired: But the *General*, in place of relenting, doth most severely threaten the *Lieutenant* himself, telling him that he would teach him to obey his orders precisely, without pleading for mitigation; whereupon the *Lieutenant* returning to the place, immediatly ordereth the poor man to be shot, who was instantly stript naked and left dead upon the ground. A fact so Barbarous & Cruel, and in effect so plain a *Murder*, being destitute of the least shadow of either Ordinary or Martial Law to colour it, that the horrour theron may justly render it incredible.

6. As this last Act is such as barbarity it self would condemn,

lemon, so it is well known that this man *Dalzel* was therefore brought from *Musco*, where it was supposed he had learned to comply with that Arbitrary Tyranny, and to exercise that Barbarous Cruelty, which there more than in any part of the Christian World, is wickedly practised, as is the only proper Executioner, agreeably and accurately to serve the rigour & violence of this accursed Prelacy. Which expectation he hath not at all frustrated: For both *beand* the *Arch prelate of St Andrews*, are so wickedly actuated by the same spirit of spite, rage and wickedness, that they have often grieved and openly complained, that such whom they have supposed, and would have instantly and utterly destroyed as criminals (according to the excess of their own lust and malice, without respect to any measure or proposition of Justice) should either be proceeded against, or punished according to the tenor of Law; accounting and impudently declaring, that these *Formalities* (as they are pleased to term the very substantials of Law, and the great security of all mens lives and fortunes) were, and are in their opinions mostly obstructive to the Kings service. It were endless to enumerate all the extortions, cruelties and exactions that this *Musco* beast hath acted and doth practise upon that poor countrey of the *West*, where retaining some of his forces, *Lisburne*, *Horne* and *Foot*, the most slender suspicions, or the smallest surmises, though never so false, are accounted *would* mens and convictions; and immediately punished with such rigorous imprisonment as we have already described; to be oppressive Quartering, not only on the person sus-*pected*, but also on the whole bounds about: In which quartering, the soldiours do behave themselves with *Murder*-intolencie and rapine, that not only many hundreds families are reduced to beggary, but in several Parishes, the countrey almost laid waste and desolate; So now it is the common report and perswasion of

all, that the *West* is appointed for ruine and destruction.

7. Seeing this is the case of almost that whole Countrey without respect to guilt or innocence, how hard and lamentable is the condition of such who were in the late Rising, and have hitherto escaped? It is impossible fully to represent all their sore distress and great perplexity whil they sustain, wandering and hiding themselves in woods mountains and caves of the earth, afflicted with all the pain and misery, that the extremity of cold, nakedness and hunger, with the continual uncertainty of their Lives, can lay upon them, and hunted more than Partridges, by the vigilant and cruel malice of their adversaries. We know that some of our prophane Apostate Preachers (who notwithstanding think the fiery tryal a strange thing, and are offended at the cross of Christ, but preferring this worlds ease to the everlasting rest, do neither hearken to the warning, nor will believe the promised and often experienced consolation of much suffering) have wickedly judged these poor men and their cause by the event, and affirmed that curse Isa. 8: 21. to be on them accomplished: But as both the sin of Sorcery and the sting of this threatening, imbibited fretting to the conscience of God, the very worm of the damned here recorded do clearly discover and confute this calumny; so are the scurrilous Apostate calumniators plainly and directly therein concerned, who, having such evident tokens of perdition, as visible to their vile Apostacy and cruel persecution and reproaches, may and ought to tremble in the apprehensions thereof, which, without serious repentance, they cannot escape, when the righteous God, who upholdeth his own strength and joy in tribulation, shall hereafter give unto them, though now troubled, rest with all saints.

But not only time, but heart and tongue would fail a Christian, to relate all the violences, plunderings, extortions and insolencies, that from the beginning of the pre Apostacy, until this day have been and are committed.

Silary Force among us, first upon Galloway, then upon  
Galloway and Nitisdale, and now upon the whole  
of the Country : which as they have been Extended in bounds,  
are they continually Intended in cruelty. Only this  
shall say, if stabbing, wounding, beating, strip-  
ing and imprisoning mens persons, violent breaking of  
houses both by day and night, and beating and  
binding of wives and children, ravishing and deflower-  
ing of women, forcing wives and other persons by fire  
and scalding and other tortures to discover their husbands  
nearest relations, although it be not within the com-  
of their knowledge, and driving and spoiling all their  
goods that can be carried away, without respect to guilt  
or innocence, in as cruel a manner as ever Scotland saw  
perced amongst them by a forraign enemy (as can be in-  
duced from every corner of that Countrey) May repre-  
sent our present slavery and bondages; certainly the same is  
much th: more miserable and insupportable, in that all  
the wickedness is most unnaturally perpetrated, both by  
their own Countrey-men and Sworn brethren, and so  
much the rather to be laid to heart by all, that, as all these  
things are only acted and allowed by the wicked malice  
and blind fury of this prevailing Prelatick party, and  
satisfying their insatiable hatred and revenge against  
their opposers, so is the whole Kingdom thereby  
assembled, and most obviously in these most dangerous  
times, exposed to the Invasion of any Forrainer ; As  
herefore be very evident from these considerations.

1. The  
strength and better part of the Kingdom, is al-  
ready disabled, not only by the above-mentioned op-  
tions, but by generall disarming, and taking of  
useable horses, and likely very shortly to be totally  
disabled and ruined.

2. The North and High-Lands have  
of late so much neglected and connived at, through  
the prevailing wickednes of the times, that they are  
olly in disorder, and all places about infested by most

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infolent rapines and murthers : but since the Actors  
void both of Religion and Conscience , they cannot now  
be guilty of either Rebellion or Sedition , and since they  
are rather favourers of, than enemies to Prelates , it is no  
matter how great enemies they be to Righteousnes  
3. The whole Kingdom is so exhausted by exactions  
impositions , so vexed by generall oppression and disorder , from which the wickedness of Prelatrick Rulers  
suffer no place to be exempted ; and so disgusted with  
violence and inhumanity they see done to their brethren  
(their own flesh) for such slight and unworthy causes as  
occasions , as the worst of men not interested , do justly  
apprehend Prelacy and Conformity to be , that all  
either disabled , or disheartned , or disobliged from  
service of King and Countrey . 4. There remaineth  
strength ner force amongst us , but these two regiments  
of foot and nine troops of horses , which even with the  
addition of the five more intended , will not in all exceed  
2000 foot and 1000 horse , and yet are they all and more  
than the Countrey can well bear , and these so debauched  
by licentiousnes , cruelty and rapine , that neither  
their hearts endure , nor their hands be strong against  
enemy . These are the fruits of our departing from  
Lord , and again erecting and admitting this accursed  
Prelacy . O ! that God would cause us to know how  
evill and bitter they are ; but the Prelats , who fear  
God , regard not the Commonwealth , let the Covenant  
and Conscience be rooted out , then come on us what will  
these are the only enemies of their usurpations and wicked  
lusts , and therefore must be accounted so both  
King and Countrey ; against these are our forces levied  
and maintained , and unto this design their numbers must  
be modelled , and our exactions proportioned : The arming  
of the Countrey , and establishing of the Militia con  
form to our ancient Laws and Liberties , may possibly  
the Prelats enemies ; surely that course would not so  
lengthen

lently press Conformity, and execute their cruelty, nor so largely gratify a few Nobles, who by the command of the troops must be made sharers of the spoil and booty, and so engaged for these vile Prelates against the poor Countrey. O blinded Nobles ! are not the wealth and peace of the Countrey your riches and stability ? O abject Scotland ! how art thou abandoned ?

This being the design , rage and jealousy of the tyrannizing Prelats , in order thereunto there must be five troops more added to these already levyed , and the Countrey yet more oppressed for the securing and establishing of their wickedness. 2. They are endeavouring by all means to have the *Declaration* against the Covenant generally pressed , that either by violent straining they may destroy all conscience thereof , or may more fully discover , and more effectually reach all the faithful in the Land , whom by the test of a refusal they purpose to staine and severely punish as enemies to Authority. We shall not offer here to add any thing against this *Declaration*. If all that the Lord hath done in this Land, now by the space of near an 100 years , all that his servants have formerly declared and testified , and now of late have witnessed and sealed with their blood , and all the tenor and purpose of this discourse avail not to justify our holy Covenants , & condemn this horrid Apostacy and wicked *Declaration* , nothing certainly will be able to perswade , and the mighty power of God can only convert. Only we have reason to fear that the same spirit of deceit , which , under the colour of due obedience to lawful Authority , ensnared wretched Edinburgh to a combination and conspiracy against the Lord and his Anointed , may renew the same practice upon the whole Land , for the more easy involving of such in this Apostacy , whom possibly the gross and palpable wickedness of the *Declaration* might deterre : And to such we give this warning , that as all Powers are subordinat to the most High , and appointed

and limited by his holy will and commandment, for his own glory and the Peoples good; and as our Allegiance was, and standeth perpetually and expressly thus qualified, viz. *in defence of Religion and Liberty*, according to our first and second Covenants; and lastly, seeing all Allegiance and obedience to created Power whatsoever, (though the construction of charity apparently indefinite, yet) of its own nature is indispensably thus restricted; To renew the same, or take any the like Oath of Allegiance purely and simply, purposely omitting the former and due Restriction, especially where the Powers are in most manifest and notorious Rebellion against the Lord, and opposition to his Cause and Covenant, is in effect equivalent to an express rejecting and disowning of the same Limitation, and of the Sovereign Prerogative of the Great God and King overall, which is thereby reserved; and as in plain terms to affirm, *that whatever abused Authority shall command or do, either to the overturning of the Work of God, subverting of Religion, destroying of Rights and Liberties, or persecuting of all the Faithful to the utmost extremity, we shall not only stupidly endure it, but actively concurre with and assist in all this Tyranny.* And if this be not more, yea double wickedness above all that the Declaration doth import, let all men consider. O! all ye who desire to behold the good that God will do for his people, beware of this high Rebellion against him.

3. As all restraints of either Conscience or Law are now wickedly taken off, & only a convenient opportunity waited for, to reintroduce that dead carcase of Formality, the Service book, and the whole bulk of these corrupt Ceremonies and pernicious Superstitions, that have been formerly, and always found so destructive to the light and power of the Gospel, and are so vain and ridiculous in themselves, that nothing but the very spirit of darkness & judicial delusion from the Lord, can induce men to such fopperies; so may we certainly expect the reimposing of this heavy yoke, and all the Sin, Superstition, Persecution and Wrath which necessarily

necessarily do attend it, except we abide stedfast in the Lords Cause and Covenant, instantly intreating and patiently waiting for his Salvation, and glorious appearance again in this Land.

Thus we have represented in part both the Sin, Sufferings and Distresses that ly upon the whole Land; which though they be most heavy and grievous in themselves, yet are they in their Tendency and Presage more to be regarded. Can any man seriously look upon the hatred and scorn of that Light and Truth, wherein once we glorified, the spite against the Holy Covenant, and all Conscience, the Blasphemy and sin against God, and the violence and persecution against all such as fear His Name, whereby the enemy rageith, and their tumult continually increaseth, and not be astonished? Is there any who believeth that God is, and that His words are Truth, and all His Wayes judgement, His Threatnings sure & certain his jealousy as a consuming fire, His wrath so dreadful, and His indignation so terrible, that only the same Omnipotency which inflicteth the stroaks, can sustain poor passive wretches from evanishing as its smallest rebukes, and yet shall sustain them eternally, and not tremble because of the provocation of all these Abominations? O! that such whom the Love of Christ hath not constrained, nor the tears and weeping of a departing Saviour moved, might be yet perswaded by the Terror of the Lord, and that the dread of God might make their hearts soft. Surely abounding so is the greatest Woe, and prevailing transgression the greatest cause of mourning; but above all sins and transgressions, Christ despised in his Gospel and Ordinances, and persecuted in his members, is the most mournful and fearful: Which as it scattered and destroyed the Lords peculiar People and Nation, dear to him above all Nations, and hath overturned and ruined the fairest part of the Christian World, either in Barbarity or gross Darkness; so is it the great condemnation of the whole World. This is the work and wickedness of accu-

sed Prelacy, most Perjurious in its Rise, and ever Antichristian in its Desigues and Effects, as all who have hearea understand what we have here declared, and eyes to see the present state and condition of matters, must and will acknowledge. This is thy Sin, O Scotland, and, if thou prevent it not, shall be thy ruine. This is the Voice, Testimony and Warning of all the sufferings of the Lords people; who though continually afflicted and persecuted their bodies, and though their souls be exceedingly filled with the contempt of the proud; yet have not, nor dare not deny the Lord, his Work, nor his holy Covenant: whom though the Lord hath caused to turn back from the enemy, and given for a spoil to them that hate them, yea given them as sheep for meat, and made them a reproach, a scorn and a derision; yet have they not forgotten the Lord, nor dealt falsely in his Covenant. O! that men would consider this Grace of God, whereby as he comforteth and sustaineth his servants in all their afflictions; so he warned backsliders to return, and all to flee from the wrath that is to come, and to save themselves from this wicked generation: Which Grace, as it allayeth to the Faithful the sinnes, so ought it to remove from all the scandal of our Lord cross, and is indeed that strength and presence of the Captain of our salvation (who was made perfect by suffering with all his sufferers, giving for the present joy and peace, and afterwards assured victory.

Now, seeing it is the Lord who hath so visibly brought upon us these sore Trialls, that such as are approved may be made manifest, and so graciously delivereth them from the temptation thereof, yea thereby refines, purifieth and maketh many white, that they may be more abundant Partakers both of His Holiness and of His Glory, and also eminently beareth witness to the Truth, Grace and Power of His great Work, His holy Covenant, and precious Ordinances and Ministry amongst us, clearing them by His own Testimony of all these calumnies, wherewith either

either through the invention of some mens malice , or the occasion of other mens weakness and sin , they were formerly aspersed , we shall shut up this discourse with this one word of exhortation .

Great hath been the Sin of this Land in not believing and obeying the glorious Gospell , in not receiving the Lord Jesus in our hearts , and witnessing His Light and Grace and Glory in our lives and conversations , but in resting on the outward forms and appearances of the true Doctrine , Worship , Discipline and Government , without labou- ring after the power of Reformation , and beauty of holiness ( the only grace and blessing of al these enjoy- ments ) and in perverting and managing the possession and profession of all these things unto selfish ends and worldly advantages . O foolish people and unwise , have we thus requited the Lord , for all these mercies of His Gospell , pure Ordinances and Holy Covenants , to corrupt and deprave them from that great end of the Glory of His grace , and mercy in our salvation , unto the base designs of serving and satifying our own lusts to His dishonour ? And therefore is it that the Lord , having often in his mercy corrected and warned us , hath now at length given us over unto this horrid Apostacy and Defection ; whereby , as the latent malice and hypocrisy of many , and the great fainting and want of zeal in all , have been manifestly discovered ; so the Lord is feeding the wicked with their own delusions , and putting the zeal and constancy of all to the Test , and in effect ripening this whole Land , either for a glorious deli- verance from that perverse spirit and generation of Anti- christ , that hath been long mingled in the midst of us , and even from the dayes of our first Reformation , hath retained and continued the old enmity against the Lord Jesus and His blessed Gospell and Kingdom ; or else for a totall and final overthrow in utter darkness and desolation . And therefore O Scotland , because the Lord loved thy Fathers , and delighteth not in thy destruction , hath He after all our fearful

fearful backsliding and sinful fainting and departing which testify against us neither left Himself nor us without a witness; but raised up amongst us His own faithful Servants and our brethren, with whom we are all equally and indissolubly engaged in the same righteous Cause and Covenant, & by the mighty power of His grace from the pure zeal of His Glory, enabled them first to venture and then to lay down their lives for the Testimony of His Work and Covenant, that we may yet at length consider and understand, that these were no more the labour and devices of carnal designs, than that corruption and weakness of flesh and blood could triumph both over it self and death and hell the chief of terrors. O ! that men would therefore lay to heart their bonds and Engagements unto the Lord, repent of their backslidings and cease from their opposition to His Cause and Covenant; at least that such whom the Lord hath not abandoned unto that depth of Apostacy, whereunto others have made defection, would yet be wise and instructed, repent of their fainting and Neutrality in the cause of God, and their connivance or compliance with the declared enemies thereof, and beware of that wicked Declaration against the Covenant, or any other Oath and Subscription likely to be the snare and temptation of these times, which either under the pretext of Peace and Order, or of due Obedience unto lawful Authority, may be wickedly invented and imposed really for the suppressing of Truth, and advancing of this Rebellion against the most High God, and the establishing of this Antichristian Prelatick Tyrann. We have already fully detected the mask and design of such impostures; he who hath given Authority and Power unto Kings and Princes, and rendered the same Sacred by his holy Sanction and Command, as he hath often punished their Ingratitude and Usurpation against his own Sovereignty; so will he not hold that people guiltless, who, being both his Creatures and sworn Subjects, either connive at, or comply with such Rebellious Princes

Princes in their wickednes. Shall both the Law of God, and the very Propension of the heart and blood to the love and obedience of Parents, cede to the obedience of Kings and Rulers, for the good and preservation of the Commonwealth, and shall not far more all Allegiance and obedience to the same Kings and Rulers, cede and give place to our Obedience to the Most High our only Sovereign Lord, and the conscience of His holy Oath and Commandments, for advancement of his glory, the great and only end of all things? Fix it therefore in your hearts, first to love and fear the Lord our God, and then to honour and obey the King; and let the sincere and inward love of our Lord Jesus Christ, the dear esteem of his precious Gospel, and the remembrance of our most sacred and solemn Oaths and Covenants, and of that beauty, power and glory of His pure Ordinances, Ministry and Government which we once enjoyed, alwayes dwell in your hearts, and ever determine and establish you to resist and disown all wicked Usurpations against the Lord and His Anointed, all Invasions against His Crown and Prerogative, all Corruptions and Humane Inventions in His pure Worship and Ordinances, all perversion of the true Government and comely Order in His house, and all violations of these indispensible and holy Engagements, whereby this whole Nation is perpetually joyned unto the Lord; and also ever animat you to Do or Suffer for the Lords great Name, and these precious and important concernments, as He requireth; lest if ye either faint in your mindes, or give up your selves to the delusion of some carnal distinction, quicke the sounder for the safer part, against the explicit Testimony, or implicit inclination of your own Consciences (which latter, if sincerely aiming at the glory of God, & in nothing repugnant to His holy Word, is no otherwise to be regarded in times of temptation, than as that promised secret leading of the blind in the way they know not) you not only

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only lose your Crown , but provoke the Lord to cause all the Churches know by your plagues , that He it is who searcheth the reins and hearts.

But unto these few names in *Scotland* that have appeared zealous for God , and have not forgotten His Covenant in these declining times , and all these who favour their Righteous Cause ; The Lord (who liveth and was dead; and is alive for evermore, *Amen,*) knoweth your works, tribulation and poverty (but you are rich) and also the blasphemy of them which say they are Christians and are not , but are the synagogue of Antichrist , Fear none of these things which you do or shall suffer , your afflictions are but for Triall , and may be Short : be Faithful unto the death, and ye shall have the Crown of life. And as ye love God and the Father of our Lord Jesus , who gave His only and eternall delight unto the death for us Sinners ; as ye love our Lord Jesus Christ who loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood ; as ye love the Holy Spirit of Grace, who breatheth all this love into our hearts , and comforteth and sealeth us unto the day of redemption ; as ye love the blessed Gospel , in the light whereof all this love is revealed , and God therein mainly glorified ; as ye love the Church of God , which he hath purchased with his own blood ; as ye love (for your own souls and for your posterity) eternal life ; as ye love poor *Scotland* and its deliverance from the dreadful and imminent wrath of God ; and as you love the preservation of all Interests either Spiritual, Temporal or Eternal, Adhere steadfastly to the holy Covenant , that Sacred and Firm Bond and Engagement unto all duties of Religion and Righteousness , our blessed sealed Charter of all the Lord's blessings and ordinances , especially of that great Ordinance of the Ministry and Government of the Lord's house , which He himself hath appointed the hedge of all other Ordinances , and the great and most effectual mean of the Gospel's establishment and advancement. For , as

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it is only the holy zeal of God inspired and animated by the fervent love of our Lord Jesu , and the fear of the Lord's thoughts toward Scotland be thoughts of peace and not of evil, to give us an expected end (as we have great ground and perswasion of hope) it shall be upon the broken plank of this despised Covenant , that this tossed and shipwrackt Church shall be preserved , in midst of all these fluctuations, and at length attain to its desired haven of Peace and Truth. Ye although this Apostacy and persecution should prevail to wear out the saints of the most High , and the Lord (because of the overspreading of abomination) should determine and bring upon us utter desolation ; yet shall this your faithfulness be your Peace , joy and Victory. Let all therefore that desire to be found faithful, look unto Jesus and his joy ; that with Him enduring the cross and despising the shame , we may neither faint nor be weary , but in end be partakers of his Victory, Throne and Crown.

Thus we have seen and declared the great Work of God in this Land , from the first times of our Reformation unto this day ; we have also seen our manifold provocations, whereby we have often Turned , Tempted and Provoked the most High ; and all these judgements , Temptations and Discoveries , wherewith , by the space of now more than an Hundred years , he hath corrected and exercised us ; and we are at length arrived unto , and have considered the present state and posture of our affairs : Wherein though 1. the extremity of Apostacy , exceeding all that any age can parallel , and aggreateable by all the circumstances of most clear and glorious Manifestations , most solemn and sacred Engagements , most sudden and causeless backsliding , and most national daring and violent defection that any Church can be charged with. 2. The extremity of Persecution and Violence , which . considering either the Actors ; (once ring-leaders , now Apostats from the same Holy Covenant which they persecut) or the Manner,

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by Hostile and Military Force , without so much as regarding their own Lawes which they pretend for warrant ; or the cruelty and excess , whereby mens lives are imbibited , making them preferre Death to the slaveries and insolencies which they sustain , Are not to be instanced in any Christian Church . 3. The extremity of Sin and prophanity , and of the enemies boasting and blasphemy , whose mouths are set against the Heavens , and all the spite of their tongues and indignation of their hearts , against the holy Covenant and tenderness of conscience , over which and all their followers , they wickedly insult and rejoice . And 4. the extremity of mens fainting and deserting so Good a Cause ; Which in their hearts they secretly own and approve , but dare not avow . yet are ready to deny for fear of the Adversaries ; Though , we say these extremities (undeniably apparent in our present condition) do sadly denounce unto this Land , the worst and most woful of all extremities even utter forsaking and desolation , and that the End is come ; yet notwithstanding all these hopeless and despera appearances , it is the Lord who causeth light to shine out of darkness , and saith , in the evening it shall be light , who saith unto dry bones , live , and calleth his People out of their graves , who even calleth things that are not as though they were , in whom all the seekers of His face ought to rejoice , and joy in the God of their salvation . Therefore although that over and above all these menacing evils , the power and pride of the Enemy should yet more prevail even many degrees above all the appearances of Humane Hope or Help , and all Neighbcuring Nations should not only give them the leisure and conveniency , but with all their might conspire and concurrie with our enemies , to intend their persecution and strengthen their Apostacy ; yet are the Lords Faithful , not only partakers of that River the streams whereof make glad the City of God , though surrounded with the siege of Nations , Batteries of mountains , and insurrections of the Universe against it , and in  
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built on that rock, againit which the very gates of hell cannot prevail, and do also know that their God whom they fear is able to deliver them from this fiery Triall, and He will deliver them from their persecutors; and if not, that nothing save the designe of greater glory to his own Name, in a greater mercy and salvation to His People shall impede it: but all that love the Lord's Salvation have also fair ground of hope, that the Lord, as he will powr out His wrath upon his adversaries, so will He remember for Scot<sup>t</sup> and his Covenant; awake and give a shout against His enemies; and that, now when He seeth their wrath, how they behaye themselves strangely, and say our hand is high, and the Lord hath not done all this, the Lord will bring forth for His remnant (even that holy seed which shall be the substance of this Land) that Deliverance which is laid up in store with Him, and sealed up amongst His treasures. *For unto God belongeth vengeance and recompence*, even the vengeance of his broken Covenant, of His dear Saints blood, and of His polluted Sanctuary. The adversaries foot shall slide in due time, for the day of thir calamity is at hand, and the things that shall come upon them, make haste. For the Lord shall judge his people and repent himself for his servants, when he fath that our power is gone, and there is none shut up or left: And the Lord shall say, see now that I, even I am He, and there is no God with me: I kill and I make alive, I wound and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand; for I lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live for ever. If I whet my glittering sword, and mine hand take hold on judgement, I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me. I will make mine arrows drunk with blood (and my sword shall devour flesh) and that with the blood of the slain and the captives, from the beginning of revenges upon the enemy. Rejoyce, O ye Nations, with his people, for he will avenge the blood of His servants, and will render vengeance to His adversaries, and

will be mercifull unto His Land and to His People. This is the Song which God hath taught us , and therewith we shut up and seal the Faith and Patience of the Saints.

**A**nd now , having finished the Narration intended of the Work of God , and having seen and being perswaded that all the degrees and Passages of its Progress and Advancement , were the very vestiges of the Lords ascendent Power and Glory , which He hath also sealed by the Salvation of many thousands for our assured confirmation , that as this Work is of God , shall it not come to nought , But that these Antichristian Prelats who oppose it , though in the same Spirit and power of darkness , which hath mainly caused and procured all the sin , temptation and ruine that hath befallen any Gospel-Church , since the blessed coming of our Lord Jesus in the flesh , they should arise unto yea surmount the very height of the Papacy and Anti-christ himself , in their Persecutions and Tyranny . They shall nevertheless in the end , be found even to fight against God , and perish for ever in their gainsaying. As we do therefore desire to remain stedfast immovable , and always abounding in the Work of the Lord , and every point and circumstance thereof without fainting or wearying even unto the Death, in & over which the Lord hath caused His faithful witnesses to gloriously to Triumph ; so we do only here subjoyn for the clear and unanswerable conviction and condemnation of the perfidy and wickedness of these accursed Prelates , both before the World , and even in their own consciences , if any sense thereof do yet remain : That though we had never seen any of these great and glorious things , whereby the Lord since the Year 1637. did revive , confirm and magnify His Work amongst us , and that the National Covenant had not been since retaken much

much less explained and established ; nor the *League and Covenant* ensued it ; Yet since the same doth still stand in the plain and simple terms , wherein it was conceived, and in that sense and meaning , wherein both its express Words and all the circumstances, which we have before observed, do plainly evince that it was at first taken ; as this Covenant doth remain unto this Day (notwithstanding all the Prelates wickednes , perjury and violence) unrepeal'd or condemned , and by no contrary explanation or gloss , either is or can be detorted, from being an undeniablie abjuration of accursed Prelacy and all its corruptions ; so is it a certain , fixed and immoveable foundation for all the Work of God that hath ensued , and a very sure ground of confidence to all who seriously perpend , and firmly adhere to it , that the Lord who loved us of old , and choosed our Fathers, shall yet again by his mighty Spirit and Power , turn the hearts of the Children unto the Fathers , and bring us back unto the Lord God of our Fathers , and upon this same Foundation , yet repair our breaches , build up the old wastes, and raise and rear up His Glory.

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The last  
**S P E E C H E S**  
 AND  
**T E S T I M O N I E S**  
*Of some who have suffered for the*  
**TRUTH in SCOTLAND**  
 Since the Year 1660.

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The last speech of the  
**MARQUES of ARGILE,**  
 At his Death in Edinburgh,  
 May 27. 1661.

**M**ANY will expect that I speak many things, and according to their several opinions and dispositions, so will their expectations be from me, and constructions of me; But I resolve to disappoint many, for I come not hither to justify my self, but the Lord, *Who is He in all*

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all his trayes and Righteous in all his Works, holy and blessed  
is his Name ; Neither come I to condemn others : I  
know many will expect that I will speak against the  
hardnes of the Sentence pronounced against me ; But  
I will say nothing to it. I bless the Lord, I pardon all  
men, as I desire to be pardoned of the Lord my self.  
Let the will of the Lord be done ; That is all that  
desire.

I hope that ye will have more charity to me now, than  
ye would have had at an other time, seeing I speak before  
the Lord, to whom I must give an account very shortly.  
I know very well that my words have had but very little  
weight with many : And that many have mistaken my  
Words and Actings both : Many have thought me to be  
a great Enemy to these great works, that have of late  
been brought to pass. But do not mistake me, good  
People : I speak it in the presence of the Lord, I entered  
not upon the Work of Reformation, with any design  
of advantage to my self, or prejudice to the King and his  
Government; as my latter Will which was written 1650  
And thereafter delivered to a Friend (in whose hands  
it still remaineth) can show. As for these Calumnies  
that have gone abroad of me, I bless God, I know them  
to be no more : And as I go to make a reckoning to  
God, I am free as to any of these, concerning the King  
Person or Government. I was Real and Cordial in my  
desires to bring the King home, and in my Endeavours  
for Him when he was at home, and I had no correspon-  
dence with the Adversaries Army, nor any of them  
in the time when his Majesty was in Scotland ; Nor have  
I any accession to his late Majesties horrid and execrable  
Murther, by Council or Knowledge of it, or any other  
manner of way. This is a Truth, as I shall answer  
my Judge. And all the time his Majesty was in Scotland  
I was still endeavouring his advantage ; my Conscience  
beareth me witness in it. So much to that Particular.

And (turning about he said) I hope, Gentlemen, you will all remember these.

I confess, many look on my Condition as a *Suffering* condition: But I bless the Lord, that he that hath gone before me, hath trod the Winepress of the Fathers wrath; by whose Sufferings, I hope that my Sufferings shall not be Eternal. I bless Him that hath taken away the sting of my Sufferings: I may say that my Charter was Sealed to day; for the Lord hath said to me, Son, be of good cheer, thy Sins are freely forgiven thee: And so I hope my Sufferings shall be very easy. And ye know the Scripture saith, the Captain of our Salvation was made perfect by Sufferings.

I shall not speak much to these things for which I am condemned, lest I seem to condemn others: It is well known, it is only for *Compliance*, which was the Epidemical fault of the Nation. I wish the Lord to Pardon them: I say no more.

There was an expression in these Papers presented by me to the Parliament, of the *Contagion of these times*; Which may by some be misconstrued, as if I intended to lay an Imputation upon the Work of Reformation: But I declare that I intended no such thing; But only related to the corruptions and failings of men, occasioned by the Prevailing of the Usurping Powers, *At this turned and took them all witnessess.*

Now, Gentlemen, concerning the Nation, I think there are three sorts of People that take up much of the World and of this Nation. There is 1. The openly Prophane: And truly I may say, though I have been a prisoner, I have not had mineears shut; I hear assuredly, that Drinking, Swearing, Whoring were never more Common, never more Countenanced than now they are. Truly if Magistrats were here, I would say to them, if they lay forth their power for glorifying of

God, by restraining this, they should fare the better; if they continue in not restraining, they shall fare the worse. I say no more, but either let People shun Prophanity and Magistrats restrain it, or assuredly the wrath of God shall follow on it. 2. Others are not openly Prophane (every one will not allow that) but yet they are *Gallios* in the matter: If matters go well as to their Private Interest, they care not whether the Church of God sink or swine. But whatever they think, God hath laid Engagements upon *Scotland*: We are tyed by Covenants to Religion and Reformation: These that were than Unborn are yet engaged; and in our Baptisme we are engaged to it. And it passeth the power of all the Magistrats under heaven to absolve them from the Oath of God: They deceive themselves, and it may be would deceive others that think otherwise. But I would caveat this, People will be ready to think thisa kind of instigation to Rebellion in me; But they are ver-ry far wrong that think Religion and Loyalty are not well consistent. Whoever they be that separate them, Religion is not to be blamed, but They. Its true, it is the duty of every Christian to be Loyal, yet I think the Orders of things are to be observed as well as their Na-tures: the Order of Religion as well as the Nature of it Religion must not be the Cockboat, it must be the Ship. God must have what is his, as well as *Cæsar* what is his: And These are the best Subjects that are the best Christians. And that I am looked on as a Friend to Refor-mation, is my Glory.

3. There is another sort that are truly Godly: And to them I must say what I fear, and every one hath reason to fear (its good to fear evil) Its true the Lord may prevent it; but if he do not (and truly I cannot foresee any probability of it) Times are like either to be very Sinning or very Suffering Times: And let Christians make their choice: There is a sad *Dilemma* in the busi-  
ness,

ness, sin or suffer; and turely, he that would choose the Better part will choose to Suffer. Others that will choose to Sin, shall not escape Suffering; They shall Suffer, but it may be, not as I do (*turning about and pointing to the Maiden*) but worse: Mine is but Temporal, theirs shall be Eternal; when I shall be Singing, they shall be Howling. Beware therefore of Sin whatever you are aware of, especially in such times.

Yet I cannot say of my own Condition, but that the Lord in his Providence hath mind of Mercy to me, even in this World: For if I had been more favourably dealt with, I fear I might have been overcome with Temptations, as many others are, and many more I fear will be; and so should have gone out of the world, with a more polluted Conscience, than through the mercy of God now I have. And hence my Condition is such now, as when I am gone, will be seen not to have been such as many imagined. It is fit God take me away, before I fall into these Temptations that I see others are falling into, and many others I fear will fall: I wish the Lord may Prevent it. Yet blessed be his Name, that I am kept both from present evils and evils to come. *Here he turned about a little and spoke some words to Mr Hutton, when turning again to the People, he spoke as follow-*ing. Some may expect I will regrate my own condition: But truly I neither grudge nor repine, nor desire any revenge. And I declare I do not repent my last going up to London; for I had alwayes rather have suffered any thing, thenly under Reproaches as I did. I desire not that the Lord should judge any man; nor do I judge any but my Self: I wish, as the Lord hath pardoned me, so he may pardon them for this and other things; and what they have done to me, may never meet them in their accounts. I have no more to say, but to beg the Lord, that when I go away, he would Bless every one that stayeth behind.

*His last Words, immediately before he laid his Head on the Block after his doublet was off, were these. I desire you, Gentlemen, all that hear me this day to take notice (and I wish that all who see me might hear me) that now when I am entering into Eternity, and am to appear before my Judge; and as I desire Salvation and do expect eternal Salvation and happiness from him, from my Birth to my Scaffold, I am free from any accession by my Knowledge, concerning Council or any other way to his late Ma. death? And I pray the Lord preserve his present Maj. and to powr his best blessings on his Person and Government; and the Lord give him good & faithful counsellors. Turning about to his Friends, he said, Many Christians may stumble at this, and my Friends may be discontented; But when things are rightly considered, my friends have no Discredit of Me, nor Christians no Stumbling block, rather an Engagement.*

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### **The last Speech and Testimony of Mr JAMES GUTHRIE,**

**Minister of the Gospel at Stirvelin, at his Death at Edinburgh, Jun. 1. 1661. which a day or two before his Death he wrot, and left with some of his Friends sealed and attested under his own hand.**

**M**EN and Brethren, I fear many of you be come hither to gaze, rather than to be edified by the carriage and last words of a dying man: But if any have an ear

ear to hear, as I hope some of this great confluence have, I desire your audience to a few words. I am come hither to lay down this earthly Tabernacle and mortal flesh of mine; and I bless God, through his grace I do it willingly and not by constraint. I suffer willingly: If I had been so minded, I might have made a diversion, and not been a Prisoner? But being conscious to my Self of nothing worthy of Death or of Bonds, I would not stain my Innocency with the suspicion of guiltiness by my withdrawing: Neither have I wanted opportunities and advantages to escape since I was Prisoner, not by the fault of my keepers (God knoweth) but otherwise; But neither for this had I Light or Liberty; lest I should reflect upon the Lords Name, and offend the Generation of the Righteous: And if some men have not been mistaken, or dealt deceitfully in telling me so, I might have avoided not only the severity of the Sentence, but also had much favour and countenance, by complying with the courses of the time: But I durst not redeem my life with the loss of my Integrity; God knoweth I durst not; and that since I was Prisoner, He hath so holden me by the hand, that he never suffered me to bring it in debate in my inward thoughts, much less to propone or hearken to any overture of that kind. I did judge it better to Suffer than to Sin; And therefore I am come hither to lay down my life this day. And I bless God, I die not as a Fool; not that I have any thing wherein to glory in my self: I acknowledge that I am a Sinner, yea one of the greatest & vilest that have owned a profession of Religion, & one of the most unworthy that have Preached the Gospel, my corruptions have been strong and many, and have made me a sinner in all things, yea even in following my duty: And therefore Righteousness have I none of mine own, all is vile; but I do beleieve that Jesus Christ came into the World to save sinners whereof I am Chief: Through

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Through Faith in his Righteousness and Blood have I obtained Mercy; and through Him and Him alone, have I the hope of a blessed conquest and Victory over Sin, and Satan, and Hell, and Death, and that I shall attain unto the Resurrection of the Just; and be made partaker of Eternal Life. I know in whom I have believed, and that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day. I have Preached Salvation through His Name, and as I have preached so do I Beleeve, and do commend the Riches of His Free grace and Faith in His Name unto you all, at the only way whereby ye can be saved.

And as I bless the Lord that I die not as a fool; so also that I die not for *Evil doing*. Not a few of you may happily judge, that I suffer as a Thief, or as a Murtherer, or as an evil Doer, or as a Busy body in other mens' matters. It was the lot of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and hath been of many of His Precious Servants and People to suffer by the World as evil Doers: And as my soul scarreth not at it, but desireth to reioice in being brought into Conformity with my Blessed Head, and so blessed a Company in this thing; so do I desire and Pray that I may be to none or you to day, upon this account a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence: Blessed is he that shall not be offended at Jesus Christ, and his poor servants and members, because of their being condemned as evil doers by the World. God is my record, that in these things, for which sentence of Death hath passed against me, I have a good Conscience: I bless God, they are not matters of Compliance with Sectaries, or Designes or Practices against His Majest. Person or Government, or the Person or Goverment of His Royal Father: My heart (I bless God) is conscious unto no Disloyalty; Nay, Loyal I have been, and I commend it unto you to be Loyal and obedient in the Lord. True Piety is the foundation of True

True Loyalty: A wicked man may be a flatterer & a Time server, but he will never be a Loyal Subject. But to return to my purpose, the matters for which I am condemned, are matters belonging to my Calling and Function as a Minister of the Gospel, such as the Discovery and Reproving of Sin; The pressing the holding fast of the Oath of God in the Covenant, and preserving and carrying on the Work of Religion and Reformation according thereto; And denying to acknowledge the Civil Magistrate as the Proper Competent Judge in causes Ecclesiastical: That in all these things which (God so ordering by His gracious Providence) are the grounds of my Inditement and Death, I have a good Conscience, as having walked therein according to the Light and Rule of Gods Word, and as did become a Minister of the Gospel.

I do also bless the Lord, that I do not die as one not desired. It hath been my lot to have been a man of Contention and Sorrow: But it is my comfort, that for my own things I have not contended, but for the things of Jesus Christ, for what relateh to his Interest and Work, and the well being of his people. In order to the preserving and promoting of these, I did Protest against, and stood in Opposition unto these late Assemblies at St Andrews, Dundee and Edinburgh, and the Publick Resolutions for bringing the Malignant Party into the Judicatories and Armies of this Kingdom, conceiving the same contrary to the Word of God, and to our Solemn Covenant, and Engagements; and to be an inlet to Defection, and to the Ruine and destruction of the Work of God. And it is now manifest to many consciences, that I have not been therein mistaken; nor was not fighting against a man of straw. I was also desirous and did use some poor Endeavours to have the Church of God purged of Insufficient and Scandalous and Corrupt Ministers and Elders; for these things I have been mistaken by some, and hated by others; But I bless the Lord, as I had the testimony of

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my own Conscience; so I was and am therein approven in the Consciences of many of the Lords precious Servants and People; and how little soever I may die Desired by some, yet by these I know I do die Desired, and their approbation, and prayers, and affection is of more value with me, than the Contradiction, or Reproach, or Hatred of many others; the love of the one I cannot Recompense, and the mistake, or hatred, or reproach of the other, I do with all my heart Forgive; and wherein I have offended any of them, do beg their mercy and forgivenes. I do from my soul wish that my death may be profitable unto both, that the one may be confirmed and established in the straight wayes of the Lord, and that the other (if the Lord so will) may be convinced, and cease from these things that are not good, and do not Edify but Destroy.

One thing I would warn you all of, that God is wroth, yea very wroth with *Scotland*, and threatneth to depart and remove His candlestick: The causes of his wrath are many, and would to God it were not one great cause, that Causes of Wrath are despised and rejected of men. Consider the case that is recorded *Ier. 36.* and the consequence of it, and tremble and fear. I cannot but also say, that there is a great addition and increase of wrath. 1. By that deluge of Prophanity that overfloweth all the Land, and hath reins loosed unto it every where, in so far that many have lost not only all use and exercise of Religion, but even of Morality, and that common Civility that is to be found amongst the Heathen. 2. By that horrible Treachery and Perjury that is in the matter of the Covenant, and Cause of God, and Work of Reformation: *Be astonished, O ye Heavens as this, and be horribly afraid, be ye very desolate, saith the Lord; for my People have committed two evils, they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and heaved them out cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water: Shall be break the Covenants,*

nant, and prosper? Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with God, which frameth mischief by a Law? I fear the Lord be about to bring a *Sword* on these Lands, which shall avenge the quarrel of his Covenant. 3. Horrible Ingratitude: The Lord after 10. years oppression and bondage hath broken the yoke of Stangers from off our necks; but what do we render unto Him for this goodness? Most of the fruit of our delivery is to work wickedness, and to strengthen our Selves to do evil. 4. A most dreadful Idolatry, and sacrificing to the Creature: We have changed the glory of the Incorruptible God, into the image of a corruptible Man, in whom many have placed almost all their Salvation and desire, and have turned that which might have been a Blessing unto us (being kept in a due line of Subordination under God) into an Idol of Jealousy, by preferring it before him. God is also wroth with a generation of Carnal, Corrupt, Time serving Ministers: I know and bear testimony that in the Church of *Scotland*, there is a True and Faithful Ministry: Blessed be God, we have yet many who study their duty, and desire to be found faithful to their Lord & Master; And I pray you to Honour, and Reverence, and Esteem much of these for their Works sake: And I pray them to be encouraged in their Lord and Master, who is with them to make them as iron pillars, and brazen walls, and as a strong defenced city in the faithful following of their duty: But oh! that there were not too many who mind Earthly things, & are enemies to the cross of Jesus Christ, who push with the side and shoulder, who strengthen the hands of evil doers, who make themselves transgressors, by studying to build again what they did fomerly *warrantably* destroy, I mean *Prelacy*, and the *Ceremonies*, and the *Service book*, a Mystery of iniquity that works amongst us, whose steps lead unto the house of the great Whore, *Babylon*, the Mother of fornications: Or whosoever else

else he be that buildeth this Jericho again, let him take heed of the curse of *Hiel the Bethelite*, and of that flying roll threatened *Zech. 5.* And let all Ministers take heed that they Watch, and be Stedfast in the Faith, and quiet themselves like men, and be strong; and give faithful and seasonable Warning concerning Sin and Duty. Many of the Lords People do sadly complain of the fainting and silence of many Watchmen; And it concerned them to consider what God calleth for at their hands in such a day: Silence now in a Watchman, when he is much called to speak, and give his Testimony upon the Peril of his life is doubtless a great Sin. The Lord openeth the mouths of His Servants to speak his word with a boldness; that Covenant breaking may be discovered and reprobated, and that the Kingdom of Jesus Christ may not be supplanted, nor the souls of His People destroyed without a witness. I have but a few words more to add: All that are Prophane amongst you, let themhort them to Repentance, for the day of the Lord's vengeance hasteneth and is near: But there is yet a door of mercy open for you, if ye will no: despise the day of salvation. All that are Maligners, and Reproachers, and Persecuters of Godliness, and of such as live godly in the world, take heed what ye do, it will be hard for you to kick against the Pricks; You make your selves the butt of the Lord's fury, and his flaming indignation, if ye do not cease from, & repent of all your ungodly deeds. All that are Neutral, and indifferent, and Lukewarm Professors, be zealous and repent; lest the Lord spew you out of his mouth. You that lament after the Lord, and mourn for all the abominations that are done in the Holy City, and in the Land, and take pleasure in the stone and dust of Zion, cast not away your confidence, but be comforted and encouraged in the Lord. He will appear to your joy, God hath not cast away his People, nor work in Britain and Ireland: I hope it shall outlast

more Revive by the Power of His Spirit, and take root downward and bear fruit upward. There is yet a Holy Seed and precious Remnant, whom God will preserve and bring forth : but how Long or Dark our Night may be, I do not know ; the Lord shorten it for the sake of his Chosen. In the mean while, be ye patient and steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, and in love one to another : Beware of Snares which are strawed thick : Cleave to the Covenant and Work of Reformation : Do not decline the Cross of Jesus Christ ; choose rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of the world for a season ; and account the Reproach of Christ greater riches than all the Treasure of the World. Let my Death grieve none of you, it will be more profitable and advantagious both for me, and for you, and for the Church of God, and for Christs interest and honour, than my life could have been. I forgive all men the guilt of persecuting you, and bless them that curse you, bless I and curse not. I die in the Faith of the Apostles, and Primitive Christians, and Protestant Reformed Churches, particularly of the Church of Scotland, whereof I am a member and Minister. I bear my witness and testimony to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland, by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods and Generall Assemblies. I abhor Poverty and Prelacy, and all the trumpery of Service and Ceremonies that wait upon them, I do abhorre. I do bear my witness unto the National Covenant of Scotland, in the Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the three kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland : These being sacred, Solemn, Publick Oaths of God, I believe can never be cloised nor dispensed with, by no Person, or Party, Power upon earth : but are still binding upon these kingdoms, and will be for ever hereafter ; and are ratified.

fied and sealed by the conversion of many thousand souls ; since our entering thereinto. I bear my witness to the Protestation against the controverted Assemblies and the Publick Resolutions ; to the Testimonies given against the Sectaries ; against the course of Backsliding and Defection that is now on foot in the Land , and all the branches and parts thereof , under whatsoever name or notion , or acted by whatsoever party or person . And in the last place , I bear my witness to the cross of Jesus Christ ; and that I never had cause , nor have cause this day , to repent because of any thing I have suffered , or can now suffer for His Name : I take God to record upon my soul , I would not exchange this scaffold , with the Palace or Mitre of the greatest prelate in Brittain . Blessed be God , who hath shewed mercy to such a wretch , and hath revealed His Son in me , and made me a Minister of the Everlasting Gospel , and that He hath daigned in the midst of much contradiction from Sathan and the World , to seal my Ministry upon the hearts of ~~not~~ a few of His People , and especially in the station where in I was last , I mean the Congregation , and Presbytery of *Sterlin* . God forgive the poor empty Man , that did there intrude upon my labours , and hath made a prey of many poor souls , and exposed others to reproach , and oppression , and a famine of the Word of the Lord . God forgive the misleaders of that part of the poor people , who tempted them to reject their own Pastor , and to admit of Intruders ; and the Father of mercies pity that poor Misled people : And the Lord visit the Congregation and Presbytery of *Sterlin* once more with faithful Pastors ; and grant that the Work and People of God may be revived thorow all *Brittain* , and over all the World . Jesus Christ is my Light , and my Life , my Righteousness , my Strength and my Salvation : Him , O His ~~is~~ <sup>my</sup> Testimony <sup>at</sup> <sup>before my</sup> lot ) <sup>from m</sup> <sup>through</sup> <sup>His con</sup> <sup>seutive</sup> <sup>Bid</sup> is all my Salvation , and all my Desire . Him , O His ~~is~~ <sup>my</sup> Testimony <sup>at</sup> <sup>before my</sup> lot ) <sup>from m</sup> <sup>through</sup> <sup>His con</sup> <sup>seutive</sup> <sup>Bid</sup> I do with all the strength of my soul commend unto you

Blessed are they that are not offended in Him : Blessed are they that Trust in Him. Bless Him, O my soul, from hence forth even for ever. Rejoice, rejoice all ye that love Him ; be patient and rejoice in tribulation : Blessed are you, and blessed shall you be for ever and ever. Everlasting Righteousness and Eternal Salvation is yours : All are yours, and ye are Christs, and Christ is Gods. Remember me O Lord with the favour thou bearest to thy People, O visit me with thy Salvation, that I may see the good of thy chosen, that I may rejoice in the gladness of thy Nation, that I may glory with thy Inheritance. Now let thy servant depart in peace since mine eyes have seen thy salvation.

Jas. Guthrie

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The last Speech and Testimony of the

L O R D W A R I S T O N,

At His Death in Edinburgh,

July 22. 1663.

Right Honourable, much Honoured,  
and beloved Auditors and Spectators.

That which I intended and prepared to have spoken at this time and in this condition, immediately before my death (if it should be so ordered that it should be my lot) is not at present in my power, having been taken from me : But I hope the Lord shall preserve it to bear my Testimony more fully and clearly, than now I can in this condition, having my Memory much destroyed, through much sore and long Sickness, Melancholy, and excessive drawing of my Blood. Though I bless the Lord

my God , that notwithstanding of the forementioned distempers . I am in some capacity to leave this short and weak Testimony .

I desire in the first place to confess my Sins , so far as is proper to this Place and Case , and to acknowledge Gods Mercies ; and to express my Repentance of the one , and my Faith of the other , through the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ our gracious Redeemer and Mediator : I confess that my Natural Temper (or rather distemper) hath been Hasty and Passionate , and that in my Manner of going about and prosecuting of the best pieces of work and service to the Lord and to my Generation , I have been subject to my excesses of Heat , and hereby to some Precipitations , which hath no doubt offended standers by and lookers on , and hath exposed both Me and the Work to their mistakes , whereby the beauty of that Work hath been obscured : Neither have I in following of the Lord's work , His Good Work , been without my own Self-seeking ; which hath severall wayes vented it self to the offence of both God and Man , and to the grief thereafter of my own Conscience , and which hath often made me groan , and cry out with the Apostle , O miserable man that I am , who shall deliver me from this body of death ? And to ly low in the dust mourning and lamenting over the same , deprecating God's wrath , and begging His tender Mercy to Pardon , & His powerful Grace to cure all these evils . I must with all confess , that it doth not a little trouble me , and ly heavy upon my spirit , and will bring me down with sorrow to the grave (though I was not alone in this Offence , but had the body of the Nation going before me , and the Example of persons of all Ranks to instigate me ) I hat I suffered my self through the power of temptations and the too much fear anent the straites that my numerous Family might be brought into , to be carried unto so great a length of Compliance in England with

with the late Usurpers , which did much grieve the hearts of the Godly , and made these that sought God ashamed and confounded for my sake , and did give no small occasion to the Adversary to reproach and blaspheme , and did withall not a little obscure & darken the beauty of severall former Actings about His blessed and glorious Work of Reformation , happily begun and faradvanced in these Lands , wherein He was graciously pleased to Employ , and by Employing to Honour me to be an Instrument (though the least and unworthiest of many ) whereof I am not ashamed this day , but account it my Glory , how ever that Work be now cried down , opposed , laid in the dust and trod upon : And my turning aside to comply with these men , was the more aggravated in my person , that I had so frequently and seriously made profession of my Aversness from , and Abhorrence of that way , and had shown much Dissatisfaction with these that had not gone so great a length ; for which as I seek God's mercy in Christ Jesus , so I desire that all the Lord's People , from my example may be more stirred up to watch and pray , that they enter not into temptation .

2. I do not deny on the other hand , but must Testify in the *second place* , to the Glory of his Free-grace , that the Lord my God hath often shewed and engraven upon my Conscience , the Testimony of His Reconciling and Reconciled Mercy through the Merits of Jesus Christ , pardoning all my iniquities , and assuring me that He would deliver me also by the graces of His Holy Spirit , from the spait , tyranny and dominion thereof ; And hath often drawn out my spirit to the exercise of Repentance and Faith , and after engraven upon my heart in legible characters His merciful pardon , and straenous begun cure thereof to be perfected thereafter , to the Glory of His Name , the Salvation of my Soul , and gloriification of his Church .

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3. I am ptesed in conscience to leave here at my death, my true and honest Testimony in the sight of God and Man, to and for the National Covenant : the Solemn League and Covenant, the Solemn Acknowledgement of our Sins, and Engagement to our duties; to all the grounds and Causes of Fasts and humiliations, &c of the Lords displeasure and contending with the Land. And to the several Testimonies given to His Interests, by General Assemblies, Commissions of the Kirk, Presbyteries, and by other honest and faithful Ministers and Professors.

4. I am pressed also to encourage His Doing, Suffering, Witnessing People, and Sympathizing ones with these that suffer, that they would continue in the duties of Mourning, Praying, Witnessing and Sympathizing with these that suffer; and humbly to assure them in the Name of the Lord our God, the God of His own Word and Work, of His own Cause, Covenant and People that He will be Seen, Found and Felt (in His own gracious Way and Time, by His own Means and Instruments, for His own Glory and Honour) to return to His own Truths and Interests and Servants, and revive His Name, His Covenant, His Word, His Work, His Sanctuary and His Saints in these Nations, even in the three Covenanted Nations, which were so by so Solemn Bonds, Covenants, Subscriptions and Oaths, given away and devoted unto Himself.

5. I exhort all these that have been, or are Enemies or unfreinds to the Lord's Name, Covenant or Cause, Word, Work or People, in Britain and Ireland, to Repent and Amend, before these sad judgements that posting fast, come upon them, for their sinning so highly against the Lord, because of any temptation of the Times on the right or left hand, by Baits or Straits whatsoever, and that after so many Professions and Engagements to the contrary.

6. I dare not conceal from you that are Friendly to all the Lord's Interests , that the Lord (to the commendation of His Grace, be it humbly spoken) hath severall times , in the exercise of my Repentance and Faith during my trouble, and after groans and tears upon these three notable chapters , to wit , the 9 of *Ezra* , the 9 of *Nehemias* , and the 9 of *Daniel* , with other such suitable Scriptures , and in the very nick of fervent and humble Supplication to Him, for the Reviving again His Name, Cause, Covenant, Word, and Work of Reformation in these Covenanted Nations , and particularly in poor *Scotland* , which first solemnly engaged to Him , to the good Example and Encouragement of His People in the other two Nations to do the same also , That the Lord, I say , hath several times given to me good ground of hope and lively expectations of His Mercifull , Gracious , Powerful and Wonderful Renewing and Reviving of His fore mentioned great Interests in these Covenanted Nations : And that in such a Way, by such Means and Instruments , with such Antecedents , Concurrents , Consequents , and Effects , as shall wonderfully rejoice His Mourning Friends , and astonish His Contradicting and counter-acting Enemies.

7. I do earnestly recommend my poor Wife and Children and their posterity , to the choicest Blessings of God, and to the Prayers and Favour of all the Lord's children and Servants, in their earnest dealing with God & Men in their behalft , That they may not beruined for my Cause, but for the Lord my God's sake , they may be favoured, assisted, supplyed & comforted, & also maybe fitted by the Lord for His Fellowship & Service; whom God Himself hath moved me often, in their own Presence, & with their own Consent, to dedicate, devote & resign alike and as well , as I devote and resign my own Soul and Body to Him for all Time and Eternity.

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8. I beg the Lord to open the eyes of all the Instruments of my Trouble , that are not deadly Irreconcileable Enemies to Himself and His People , that they may see the wrong done by them to His Interests and People , and to Me and Mine , and may repent thereof and return to the Lord , and may more cordially own and adhere to all His interests in time coming : The good Lord give unto them Repentance, Remission and Amendment ; and that is the work wish I wish them , and the best wish I can wish unto them.

9. I do earnestly beg the fervent prayers of all His Praying People, Servants and Instruments , whether absent or present, wherever they be, in behalf of His Name, Cause and Covenant , Work and People ; and in behalf of my Wife, Children and their Posterity : And that the Lord would glorify Himself, edify His Church , encourage His Saints, further His Work, accomplish His good Word , by all His Doings and Dealings , in Substance and Circumstance toward His own.

10. Whereas I have heard that some of my unfreinds have slandered and defamed my Name , as if I had been accessory to his late Majestie's death , and to the making of the Change of Government thereupon; the great God of Heaven be witness and Judge between Me and my Accusers in this ; for I am free (as I shall now answer before his Tribunal) from any Acceſſion by Counsel or Contrivance , or any other way to his late Majestie's death , or to their making that change of Government : And I pray the Lord to preserve our present King his Majesty , and to powr out His best blessings upon his Royal Posterity, and to give unto them good and faithfull Counsellors , holy - and wise Counſels and prosperous successes , to God's Glory and to the good and interest of His people , and to their own Honour and Happiness.

II. I do here now submit and commit my Soul and Body, Wife and Children and Childrens Children from generation to generation for ever, with all others his Friends and Followers, all His Doing and Suffering, Witnessing and Sympathizing ones, in the present and subsequent Generations, unto the Lords choice Mercies, Graces, Favours, Services, Employments, Improvements and Inheritments, on Earth and in Heaven, in Time and Eternity. All which suits with all others, which He hath at any time by His Spirit moved and assisted me to make and put up, according to His will, I leave before and upon the Fathers Merciful Bowels, and the Sons Meditating Merits, and the Holy Spirits Compassionate Groans, for now and evermore.

Amen.

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### The Joint Testimony of these who died together in Edinburgh, Dec. 7. 1666.

Subscribed by them in prison, the  
same day of their death.

### *Men and Brethren.*

This is a great and important work, both for us who are now to render up our spirits to Him that gave them; And for you who are not a little concerned in the Cause; and in our blood by justifying or condemning our sentence: And therefore, as we speak to you as Dying men, who dare not dissemble with God or man, nor flatter our selves; So ye should not be idle, curious, or unconcerned Spectators.

We are condemned by men, and esteemed by many as Rebel against the King (whose Authority we ac-

knowledge) But this is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience, that we suffer not as Evil doers, but for Righteousness, for the Word of God, and Testimony of Jesus Christ; And particularly for our renewing the Covenant, and in pursuance whereof, for Preserving and Defending of our selves by Armes, against the Usurpation and insupportable Tyranny of the Prelats; And against the most unchristian and inhuman Oppression and Persecution, that ever was enjoyned and practised by just Rulers, upon Free, Innocent and Peaceable Subjects.

The Covenant and Cause being so just in themselves, and the duties of Self-preservation and mutual Defence in maintenance thereof, being to Judicious and unbyassed men so clear, we need to say the less for vindication of our Practice: Only, the Lawes establishing Prelacy, and the Acts, Orders and Proclamations made for Compliance therewith, being executed against us by Military Force and Violence; And we with others, for our simple Forbearance, being Fined, Confined, Imprisoned, Exiled, Scourged, Stigmatized, Beaten, Bound as beasts, and Driven unto the mountains for our lives; And thereby hundreds of Families being beggared, several Parishes and some whole Country-sides exceedingly impoverished; And all this, either Arbitrarily and without any Law, or respect had to guilt or innocence; Or Unjustly contrary to all Conscience, Justice and Reason, though under the Pretence of iniquitous Laws; and without regard had to the penalty specified in the Law: And all Remonstrating of Grievances (were they never so just and many) and Petitions for Redress, being restrained by Laws condemning all former Remonstrances and Petitions in the like cases; There was no other remedy left to us, but that last of necessary Self-preservation and Defence. And this being one of the greatest Principles of Nature, warranted by the Law of God, Scriptural Instances

fances, and the consent and Practices of all Reformed Churches and Christian States abroad, and of our own famous Predecessors at home, It cannot in reason or Justice, be reputed a Crime, nor condemned as Rebellion by any humane Authority.

Though we be not the first that have suffered for the Cause of God within the Land, yet we are among the first that have been Legally condemned and put to Death Expressly for taking the Covenant: And we are so far from being ashamed thereof, that we account it our honour to be reckoned worthy to suffer for such a Cause; And cannot but bless the Lord, that we have such a cloud of Witnesses, in this and other Reformed Churches, going before us in the same duty for Substance, and in Suffering therefore.

We cannot but regret (if we could with tears of blood) the Nationall and Authorized Backsliding of the Land, by Perjury and breach of Covenant; The overturning of the Work of Reformation; The great Desolation of the House of the Lord, by smiting of the Shepherds and scattering of the Flocks; The Intrusion of so many mercenary Hirelings into the Ministry, who because of A postacy, Perjury, Ignorance and Prophaness, can neither be acknowledged as God's mouth to the People in Preaching, nor employed as their mouth to Him in Prayer; The abounding of Popery, Superstition, and Prophaness by unheard of Oaths, Blasphemies, Uncleanness and Drinking, even in some whose Office and Place requireth them to be more Exemplary; And the shedding of the Blood of the Saints by the rage of Persecution: And therefore we cannot but disown all these abominable Laws, Courses and Practices, and declare our abhorrence of the same, and dissent therefrom; Protesting before Angels and Men, that we be not interpreted as consenters thereto, and beseeching the Hearer of prayer, that we be not involved in the guilt thereof, nor partake of the plagues which follow thereupon.

As

As this Land was happy above all Nations , for the purity and plenty of the Gospel, and for a Form of Church Government more conform to the Patern in the Scriptures , than in others of the Reformed Churches ; So we acknowledge His great goodness to us in speciall , that gave us our lines in such pleasant places : For we have such full perswasion of the truthe of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland , And have felt so much of the Power and Sweetnes thereof , that we do here declare our firm belief and perswasion of , and adherence to the same , in Doctrine , Worship , Discipline and Government , according to the Nationall Covenant , the Solemn League and Covenant , the Confession of Faith , Catechisms , Directory of worship , and Propositions for Government ; Accounting it our honour and happiness to have been born in it , to have lived in Communion with it , and now to die (through Grace) Members , Witnesses and Assertors thereof.

And further as Christians and as Members of the same Church and Commonwealth , in the fear and zeal of our God , in Love to our Brethren , in desire of the Preservation of Church and Kingdom , and for own Exoneration , now when we take our leave of the World , We do seriously and in the bowels of Christ , Supplicate , Warn , Exhort and Obtest you all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom , from the King to the meanest of the Subjects , according to your old Principles , Professions , Promises , Declarations , Oaths and Covenants , faithfully to Own , Maintain , preserve and Defend the said Religion ; And after the example of our Noble and Renowned Ancestors to quit your selves like Men and Christians , in endeavouring by all just Means , according to your Places and Powers , to shake off this heavy yoke of Prelacy , which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear , and which is destructive to all our true Interests , Religious and Civil ; As ye would not involve your selves in the guilt and

and plagues of Perjury and Breach of Covenant; And as you tender the good of your own Names, Persons, Estates, Families and Liberties , as well as of your immortal Souls; And as we would partake of the good of God's chosen, and of our joyes, when ye come so near Eternity as we are.

We shall say no more , but as we were not afraid to take our lives in our hands , so we are not afraid to lay them down in this Cause ; And as we are not ashamed of Christ because of his Cross, so we would not have you offended in Christ nor discouraged because of us : For we bear you record , that we would not exchange lots with our Adversaries ; nor redeem our Lives , Liberties and Fortunes , at the price of Perjury and breach of Covenant.

And further we are assured , though this be the day of Lamb's trouble : that yet the Lord , when He hath accomplished the Triall of His own , and filled up the cup of his Adversaries, He will awake for judgement , plead His own Cause , avenge the quarrel of his Covenant, make inquiry for blood , vindicate His People , break the arm of the wicked , and establish the just ; For to Him belongeth judgement and vengeance : And though our eyes shall not see it,yet we believe that the Sun of Righteousness shall arise with healing under His wings ; and that He will revive His Work , repair the breaches , build the old wastes and raise up the desolations ; Yea the Lord will judge His people , and repent Himself for His servants , when their power is gone , and there is none shut up or left : And therefore , Rejoyce , O ye Nations , with His People : For He will avenge the blood of His servants . and will render vengeance to His adversaries , and He will be merciful to His Land and People. So let thy Enemies perish O Lord ; but let them that love Him , be as the Sun when He goeth forth in his might.

Sic subscribitur.

*John McCulloch of Barholms.*

*And. Arnot.*

*John Gordon of Knockbrex.*

*Robert Gordon his Brother.*

*John Ross.*

*John Shields.*

*James Hamilton,*

*John Parker in Bosby,  
Christopher Strang.*

*Gawin Hamilton.*

**Another Testimony which was also left by such of the Former ten Persons , as were in the same Chamber with *Thomas Paterson Merchant in Glasgow* ; who , being in like manner indicted but dying of his Wounds before Sentence, did communicate the same to his friends , with his Assent thereunto.**

**M**EN and Brethren , being condemned by our Rules as Traitors, lest we should seem to many to suffer evill doers , In the first place , we bless and praise the Lord our God , who hath made us (the unworthiest of men) Worthy to be faithfull to Him , who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords , and in Simplicity and godly Sincerity , singly to mind his glory ; and who also maketh the cross of Christ (though by men superscribed with Treason) our sweet consolation , and his own joy our strength.

2. We declare in the presence of the same God, before whom we are now ready to appear , that we did not intend to Rebell against the King and his just Authority , Whom as we acknowledge for our Lawful

Sovereign; so we earnestly pray in his behalf, that God would open his eyes and Convert his heart, that he may remember his Vowes made unto God, relieve this oppressed Kirk, and long reign and flourish in righteousness.

3. We declare, that perceiving the Holy Covenants of our God broken, the Work of the Lord overthrown, the Gospel and Kingdome of Jesus Christ despised and trampled upon, his pure Ordinances corrupted, his faithful and our soul refreshing Ministers cast out, and the Land filled with Perjury and Prophanity, and like to be hurried back to that gulf of Ignorance, Superstition and Confusion, whence the Lord did so gloriously deliver us; And finding our selves not only Spoiled of our most precious blessings, and most dear enjoyments, but urged and compelled by cruel Violence and Barbarous Persecution to wicked Apostacy from our Holy Covenants, and to Rebellion against our God; And all this done by no other hand than the wicked and perjured Prelats; And for no other ends (whatever they may pretend) than the satisfying of their own vile lusts, and establishing their so often abjured Antichristian Tyranny, over both Souls and Bodies of Men; And lastly finding former Petitions condemned as Seditious, and our private complaints (when but muttered) insolently rejected; We did in the fear and Zeal of our God, and by the warrant of his Holy Word, according to the first and most Innocent instinct of pure Nature, and the Practice of all People and Persons in the like case; And after the Example of all the oppressed Kirks of Jesus Christ, and of our Noble Ancestors, take the Sword of Necessary Self-defence, from the rage and fury of these wicked and violent Men, until we might make our heavy Grievances known to his Majesty, and obtain from his justice a satisfying remedy.

We

We will not now mention our particular Sufferings, nor the sighs and groans of poor wasted Galloway which though very heavy from the hand of man, are all too light for Jesus Christ; Nor are we willing to reflect upon those grievous and bitter Lawes and Edicts, by which they seem too be warranted: Only we know that God is Righteous, whose Lawes and judgments are Superior and aboveall the Lawes and Actions of men. And to him who will judge righteously, We intirly Commit our cause, which is none other, than the Reviving of the word of God and Renewing of his Covenant: Which though it pleased the holy and wise God, not to favour with Success, in the field, and though by men it be made our Condemnation, yet it Is our Righteousness Innocency and Confidence in his sight. And all praise and thanks be unto our God, who not only kept us steadfast in his Covenant, and made us Willing and Ready to adventure our Lives for his Name; but hath also accepted and dignified our offer, with this publick Appearance: Where, in his own glorious presence before whom we shall instantly appear, and before our often Sworn and once Zealous and tender Brethren in the same Cause, and in midst of Thee O Edinburgh, once famous for the Glory and Zeal of God and of this Covenant, we may give and Seal this our Testimony with our blood.

We therefore the unworthiest of all the Faithful, do in the Spirit of God and Glory, Testify & with our blood and lives, that both the *National Covenant* and *Solemn League and Covenant* are in Themselves holy, Just, and True, and perpetually Binding, containing no other thing, than our Indispensable Obligations to all Duties of Religion and Righteousness, according to the revealed Will of God, which no Authority nor Power of Man, is or ever shall be able to disanuin; And that our blessed Reformations both from Popery and Prel-

ey, and all that was done or ensued, in the sincere and upright prosecution thereof, was and is the Work of God, which though Men fight against, yet shall they never be able to prevail: And as this is our Faith, so it is our hope to all that wait for the Salvation of God, that Our God will surely appear for his own Glory, and vindicate his Cause and persecuted People, and render vengeance to his Adversaries, even the vengeance of his holy Temple and broken Covenant. O be not then moved with our Sufferings which are but Light and Momentany, for they Work for us a far more, exceeding and Eternal weight of Glory, and for you also a strong Confirmation, and abounding Consolation against the like trial that possibly may befall you. O then save yourselves from this Wicked and Apostate Generation, and be ye stedfast, unmoveable, alwayes abounding in the Work and Cause of the Lord; waiting for the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ; which in his time he shall shew, who only hath Immortality, dwelling in the Light which no man can approach, whom no man hath seen, or can see, to whom be honour and Power everlasting. A M E N.

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The Testimony of  
CAPT. ANDREW ARNOT,  
one of the former ten who died.  
Decem. 7.

Dear Friends and Spectators, I am brought by the good providence of God to this publick place of execution (which is no dishonour) for points of treason,

son, as is alleadged; but God knoweth ( who knoweth the secrets of hearts ) whether in Rebellion or not, I came forth: He is my witness and will be my Judge. And whoever they be that any way have been instrumental, or incensed against me to procure this Sentence against me, God forgive them, and I forgive them. I am not now purposed to disput the matter of my being in company with these worthy Christians, who are now defeat and broken, their blood shed, and they despitfully mocked by many: I acknowledge and declare that I was with them. As to the cause of my being with them, whether in Rebellion or not, God knoweth, and all *Israel* shall know. And for me, I say the Cause is the Lords, who made the Heaven and the Earth, though now it be hated. And I desire to bear witness ( with the rest of the worthy witnesses, who are gone before, and are now staled ) to that glorious Work of Reformation in *Britain* and *Ireland*, and to Gospel Ordinances in their Purity, as they have been taught and administered these 30. Years last by past, and I adhere to the Presbyterial way of Doctrine, worship, Discipline & Government, by General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions, according to the Patern of the holy Scriptures ( Jesus Christ himself being the head Cornerstone ) the Confession of faith, Catechisms Shorter and Larger, Directory for Worship, National Covenant, Solemne League and Covenant, and every Paper tending to the good of the true Religion. And thus I think fit to Testify and Declare under my hand ( not knowing if I shall have any Liberty to speak,) & intend God willing, to Seal with my Blood shortly. I confess that unexpectedly I am come to this place, (though some times I have had some small thoughts of it) And I do account my self highly honoured to be reckoned amongst the witnesses of Jesus Christ, to suffer for his Name, Truth and Cause, and this day I esteem it my Glory,

Glory, Garland, crown and royal dignity to fill up a part of his sufferings. And now I take my leave of you all, my dear and worthy Friends and acquaintances. The blessings of the Eternal God be multiplied upon you and your seed, and upon all the suffering Friends of Christ this day; upon my dear and loving Wife, who hath been a faithful sympathizer with me, and upon my dear Children. The work of God is now at under, but Christ shall carry the Day: Blessed is he that believeth and feeth not, for there shall be a performance. Now the Eternal God, who brought again the Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, the great Shepherd of the flock, strengthen & establish you and all the Lords people. So pray ye, and so prayeth yout Friend,

ANDREW ARNOT,

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The Testimony of  
JOHN SHIELDS  
Yeoman, one of the former ten, who  
died at Edinburgh the 7. day of  
Decemb. 1666

Am a man unlearned and not accustomed to speak in publick, yet being now called to witness and suffer for the Lord in publick, I cannot be altogether silent of that which Religion & Reason hath taught me, anent the cause of my suffering.

I bless the Lord, I suffer not as an evil doer, especially not for any Rebellion against his Majesties lawful Authority; I attest him who is the searcher of hearts, that was never my intention in the least, and it is as little the nature and intention of what I have done; But for renewing of the Covenant with the Lord, and following the ends thereof, as to the suppressing of abjurnd Prelats,

Prelats, and intruders upon the Lords flock, and the restoring of the Government of the House of God by Presbyteries, as he himself hath appointed in his Word, with a faithful, Godly, called, and Sent Ministry; And together with pure Ordinances, the Power of Godliness. For this I am condemned, and to suffer this day. This I acknowledged freely before our Judges; This I still acknowledge, and am perswaded that herein witness a faithful Confession. This Cause and Covenant I commend to all the Lords People. It is not free for you to forfake it; You are inviolably ingaged in it; It is not safe to desert it, because of the Curse of the perjurer and false swearer. There is unspeakable blessedness in the persuance of it, whereof I can bear witness to the Lord by my rich Experience, since we began to Do and Suffer at this time for him: Whereupon cheerfully lay down my Life for this his Cause; He it is who Justifieth it, what man or Authority under heaven can condemn it? *Ayse O Lord, let not man prevail against Thee; plead and Judge this Cause which is thine own, for thine own names sake.*

### **The Testimony of another of the former ten Persons left subscribed with a Friend.**

I designed no Rebellion against lawful Authority, but the supressing of Prelacy and of Prophanity; and advancing of Holiness in Gods World: In a Word, I adhere to all the Articles of the good Covenant, and did intend the restoring of our good and Soul refreshing Ministers, and the casting out of the dumb greedy Dogs that cannot bark. In this Cause I was a free volunteer pressed by none, thinking it my duty to appear for helping

ing the Lord against the Mighty. This I testify under my hand from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 6 of December, 1666.

The Testimony of  
Mr ALEXANDER ROBERTSON,  
Preacher of the Gospel, and Probationer for  
the Ministry, who died at Edinburgh,  
Decemb. 14. 1666.

Fearing that after the example of others, I should not be permitted to speak openly to the People, I thought fit (beside my adherence to what my brethren, who have gone before me, left behind them concerning our Common Cause) to leave a word in writ, for satisfaction of them who survive me.

That, for preservation and defence of the true Religion of this Church, and for the relief of my poor brethren afflicted and persecuted therefore, I joy ned with others in Armes, and that I renewed the Covenant, that all men might the better know my Cause and Principles. I am so far from denying or being ashamed of, that I both acknowledge and avow this as my duty; But let no man that will not condemn himself upon the same common obligations to do what I did, account me a Rebell therefore, because with the same breath that I did swear, and with that same hand that I did subscribe to preserve and defend Religion, I did also swear to defend the King and his Authority.

Our Church was not more glorious in her self and terrible to her Adversaries, while we enjoyed pure Ordinances of Word and Sacraments, and her beautiful Assemblies for Government and Discipline, of the Lords

own Institution , then she became of late deformed by the Usurpation and Tyranny of Prelacy ; And I do solemnly declare as a dying man , who dare not dissemble , that as I thought and still averre , that the erecting of this abjured Prelacy is the cause of much of the Sin in the Land , and of all the sufferings of the Lords People therein : so I had no worse design , than the restoring of the Work of Reformation according to the Covenant , and more particularly the extirpation of Prelacy , to which his Maj. and all the Subjects are as much obliged as I . And let that be removed , and the Work of Reformation restored , and I dare die in saying , that his Maj: shall not have in all his Dominions , more loving , loyall , peaceable and faithfull Subjects , than these who for their non-compliance are loaded with the reproaches of Phanaticism and Rebellion .

The sufferings and insupportable oppression of those that could not , because of the Command & Oath of God acknowledge and comply with Prelacy , may seem light to some , in whom the spirit of the old enmity that is betwixt the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent remaineth , and to others (perhaps their Friends) who look thereupon at a distance , but as there is just reason to think , that if these rigid oppressions had been more known to his Maj: his justice and clemency would have provided a remedy , and as the half thereof would have made the Prelats , their patrons and adherents impatiently mad , for as loyal as they pretend to be ; So the like cases of irresistible necessity , when there is an open door for representing of grievances and desires , and less hope of relief thereby , I suppose it will not be soon condemned by the Confessions of Reformed Churches or doctrine of sound Divines , but that it is authority by the light and law of Nature , by uncondemned example in the Holy Scripture , and by the practice of all Christian States , by Armies , to preserve and defend mens Lives

their Religion, Liberties and Fortunes; And especially, where they are not seeking to acquire a new Religion, or new Liberties, but only to preserve their old or recover them, when they are violently and unjustly spoiled of the same, as in our case; Otherwise we should sin against the generation of the just, and condemn, as rebellious, the most of the through Reformations of the Reformed Churches abroad, and of our own at home.

If this course was lawfull, and if it was our duty to joyn therein, as I believe and lay down my life in the perswasion that it was; and if all the Kingdom was (as they are) bound by Covenant to assist and defend one another in the Common Cause of Religion and Liberty, whatever may be said of these that came not forth to help the Lord against the mighty, it cannot but be their dreadful sin, who joyned themselves in Armes, or took Oaths to oppose, suppress and break it, seeing they have sided themselves against the Lord and his Work, and their carriage is a much higher degree of Accession to the blood that is shed, than Paul's keeping of the cloathes of them that stoned Stephen to death; And I wish that they may lay the matter to heart and repent of it, that God may forgive them, as I forgive all men, and particularly Morton who did apprehend me.

I know that there is a holy seed in the Land, who shall be the substance thereof, and I pray that the Lord may make them more zealous and valiant for the truth upon earth; I know also that there are many, whose bowells of compassion have been drawn forth toward these who took their lives in their hands, by Prayers to God for them and Charity to them, and especially in Edinburgh toward the poor Prisoners (of whom I may not only say, that what they have done, deserveth to be told for a Memorial, whereever the Gospel is preached, but am assuredly confident, that besides the blessings of the poor and

persecuted, the Lord is not unrighteous to forget their work and labour of love, which they have shewed towards his Name, in that they have ministred to the Saints and do minister) And yet I must needs regrate, that so many in this City once famous and honoured for harmonious owning of the Cause & Covenant of God, and blessed above many other Cities with solemn Assemblies for Worship and Government, should have been ensnared into an Oath so contradictory to the Oath of the Covenant; and which was devised, contrived and imposed in lieu of the Declaration against the same, and for a Gravestone to suppress the revival of the Work of God within this Land.

The Apostacy of this Land is very great by Perjury and breach of Covenant, and so much the worse and more aggrefageable, that it is Authorized and very universal: And as I cannot but regrate that so many are insnared therein, so I must needs warne all to abhore and beware of all Declarations and Oaths contradictory to the Covenant and renunciatory thereof, as they would not involve themselves in the guilt and plagues denounced against, and ordinarily inflicted upon Perjury and breach of Covenant; and so much the rather, because this is like to be the *Shibboleth* and trial of the times.

As for my self I have seen and dosind so much worth in Truth, which is to be bought at any rate, but solda none, And so much transcendent excellency and amibleness in Christ, that not only with cheerfulness and confidence I lay down my life for Him and His Truth, committing my soul to Him to be kept in hope of a joyfull Resurrection of the body; but also bleſs Him that gave me a life to lose, and a body to lay down for Him. And although the Market and price of Truth may appear to many very high, yet I reckon it low, and all that have or can do is, little and too little for Him, whogave

Him.

Himself for me and to me ; for I account all things but loss and dung for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ *My Lord*, for whom I now suffer the loss of all things, that I may win Him, and be found in Him, and that I may not only know the fellowship of His sufferings, but the power of His resurrection, and attain unto the resurrection of the dead.

And as for you, my dear Friends, as I pray for you, that the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternall glory by Christ Jesus , after ye have suffered a while , may make you perfect , stablish, strengthen and settle you ; so I recommend to you the same truth, that you be not soon shaken in mind, but that ye hold fast the profession of your faith without wavering ; And as you have received the Lord , so walk in Him ; Warning and obtesting you by all manner of obligations , and by the hope and joy of that crown which I wait for , that ye keep your selves unspotted with the abominable courses and practices of these times , whereunto ye may be tempted by the extremity of suffering ; and particularly that ye beware of unlawfull Oaths and Declarations against the Cause and Covenant of God , that ye have no compliance with , nor give consent unto this Prelacy, which ye have abjured; And that you be afraid and aware of Popery , which by Connivance doth so visibly abound and daily increase ; But by fighting the good fight and keeping of the faith, you may finish your course, as I do , in the assurance of the crown of Righteousness , which the Lord the righteous Judge hath laid up and shall give unto me, and not to me only, but to all them that love His appearance.

*Alexander Robertson.*

The Testimony of  
**J O H N N E I L S O N,**  
*Of Corsack who died at Edinburgh.*  
 Dec. 14. 1666.

**B**eing made a spectacle to the World , to Angels , and to Men , I found it necessary , for vindication of the Truth and of my self , for undeceiving of some , and encouraging of others , to leave this line behind me , which with my innocent blood may speak when I am gone .

I am condemned ( I shall not say how unjustly ) as a Rebell against Man , But the Lord God of Gods He knoweth , and all *Israel* shall know that it is not for Rebellion against God , but for endeavouring to recover the blessed work of Reformation , and particularly for endeavouring to extirpate Prelacy , which hath been the cause of so much sin and suffering within this Land , and for renewing of the Covenant , from the obligation whereof ( seeing I made my Vow & promise to the Lord ) neither I my self , nor any humane Authority can absolve me . And if any account this Rebellion , I do plainly confess , that after the way which they call Heresy , I worship the God of my Fathers .

Although the insupportable oppression , under which I and many others did groan , were enough to justify our Preserving and Defending of our selves by Armes , yet know that the Cause was not Ours but the Lord's ; for we suffered all our grievous Oppressions not for evill doing , but because we could not in conscience acknowledge , comply with , & obey Prelacy , & submit unto the Ministry of Ignorant , light & Prophane men , who were irregularly & violently thrust upon us ; neither did we only or mainly designe our civil Liberties , but the Liberty

of the Gospel, the Extirpation of Prelacy; the Restoration of our faithful Pastors, the Suppression of Prophanity, Promoving of Piety, the saving of our selves from unjust violence, until we had presented our Grievances and Desires; And in a word, the Recovering of the once glorious, but now ruined Work of Reformation, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, to which I declare my adherence, and through grace shall seal the same with my blood.

My *Advocate* drew up a Supplication for me, where in was acknowledged that I had been with the Rebels; but let none offend thereat: For I do hereby declare, that I was so far from accounting that course Rebellion, that I judged, and still do judge it was my duty to joyn therein, and my honour to suffer therefore, Otherwise, I should have counted my self accessory to the blood of the Lords People which is shed: And cannot but regrate that others of the Lords People, when they heard of us, did not come forth with speed to help the Lord against the Mighty; much more let all mourn, that not only many have appeared as Enemies, but also conjured themselves against the Lord, and the same Covenant which they so solemnly sware; And as for the Petition itself, I knew not that that expression was in it.

Being conscious to my self of so much weakness, and so many hainous sins which predomine in me, and of unfruitfulness under the Gospel, and unsutable walking thereto, I confess my self the vilest of sinners, and desire to mourn for the same, and pray that the Lord for Christs sake may freely forgive me, and hope through the righteousness of Jesus Christ to obtain the same; And I do exhort all & every one of my friends to more holiness, Prayer and stedfastness, alwayes abounding in the Work of the Lord; And above all things, to detest

teit and shun that wicked Declaration against the Coven-  
nant, the apparent temptation of the time, and the very  
mark of Antichristian Prelacy.

All that I have is but little, but if I had many Worlds,  
I would lay them all down, as now I do my life for Christ  
and His Cause, nothing doubting but the Lord will  
abundantly provide for my wife and my six Children,  
whom I commit to the Lords care, and recommend to  
the Kindness and Prayers of the faithful; And do lay an  
express charge on my wife that she shew all my Children,  
that I have bound them all to the Covenant, for which  
now I lay down my life, and that She lay it upon them  
as my last command, that they adhere to every Article  
thereof.

The Work and People of God are brought very low:  
It may be, because they were not ripe for a deliverance  
And for the greater trial, and filling up of the cup of the  
Adversaries; Or, because there was little, or less  
prayer than should have been amongst these who appear-  
ed at this time, that the Lord hath made this late breach.  
But, dear Friends, be not therefore tempted to call in  
question the Work of Reformation; or to think the  
worse of Christ and his cause, because of sufferings; Nor  
be discouraged, because these few who took their lives  
in their hands, fell before the Adversary; for as suffer-  
ings are often sweetned by the Spirit of God and Glory  
that resteth upon the sufferers, and afterward bring forth  
the peaceable fruits of righteousness unto them that are  
exercised thereby; so the Lord will arise in due time,  
and have mercy upon Zion, and plead the cause which is  
his own: And this Testimony, as I am this day to seal  
with my blood, so I subscribe with my hand.

**JOHN NEILSON of CORSACK.**

The

The Testimony of  
**G E O R G E   C R A W F O R D,**  
**Yeoman who died at Edinburgh,**  
 Decemb. 14. 1666.

Seeing I am to die after this manner, I lay before you this Testimony, which I avow before God, & leave behind me to the World.

That which moved me to come along with these men, was their perswasion, and my desire to help them (which with a safe conscience I could not well refuse) who, being tyrannically opprest by the Prelats and their dependants and upholders, and seeing no other way was left to be taken, took up Armes for their own defence; And if this be Rebellion, I leave it to the great God the supream Judge to decern: For in my weak judgement, I found it warrantable from the Word of God, and without prejudice of the Kings Authority (whom I pray God to direct and guide in the right wayes of the Lord, and to make him prosper therein, so that he may be surely set in his Kingdome, having him whom no enemy can resist to defend him) seeing there was nothing intended by us, against his or any others jnst and lawful Authority.

But that which was my principal and chief design, was giving my poor assistance to the rooting out of Prelats and Prelacy, and all such as are come into Gods vineyard without the Masters commission, these Hirelings who came not in at the true door, Jesus Christ, but have climbed up some other way as thieves and robbers, whose voice the sheep know not (All which is too sadly confirmed by the dreadful and horrid sins that verisen in the Land, and the curses and plagues that have

have followed thereupon) that so by taking away the abuses which proceed from them, and the sad consequences, which follow their standing or falling with them, the Covenant of God might be re-established, true Pastors that were silenced might be set at liberty, their mouths opened, and they themselves put to keeping of their flocks, and all other such persons, who were banished, or any other way under suffering, relieved.

And I do adhere to the way of Church Government sworn to in the Covenant, which I think and assent be conform to Gods Word; which, with his Spirit directing, is the only Patern and judge in all controversies: And however our endeavours at this time have not been successful, it is of the Lord, who will come in his own time, for He can do as well with few as with many; but it is like, the cup of the Adversaries is full: And who knoweth, but the Lord God of hosts will hiss for the bee of Egypt, and the fly of Assyria, who will be more cruel and blood thirsty than we were. I have to avenge the quarrel of his own People, and to make way for the establishing of his own Cause. I say no man but as I was willing to hazard my life for this cause, so am ready to lay it down at my Masters feet, seeing he is for it: & I pray the Almighty, to send his Spirit of comfort, solation promised by his Son to his own people, to strengthen them and bear them through, till the appointed time of the Lords coming with Deliverance; for he will come for his own Cause, and for his peoples sake, and will not tarry.

The last speech and Testimony of  
 Mr H E W M c K A I L L.  
 Preacher of the Gospel , and Probationer  
 for the Ministry . at his death in Edinburgh ,  
 Decemb. 22. 1666.

Being by a great surprisal of Providence , thus staged before the World , in a matter of so universal concernment to all that fear God and desire to be stedfast in his Covenant , I could not forbear to leave behind me this standing Testimony , concerning the Occasion and Uses thereof , for the Glory of God , in the Vindication of my Profession from the aspersions cast thereon by such Men , and the Edification of these by my death , to whom I had devotea my Life in the work of the Ministry .

I have esteemed the Government of this Church by Presbytery , to be among the chief of the Ordinances of Jesus Christ , which by his blood he hath purchased , and ascended up on high to bestow as a gift upon it ; as embracing the very Gospel Ministry in its Simplicity and Purity from the Inventions of Men , and so the Mean by which other Ordinances are administred , and the most fundamental Truths made effectual in the hearts of people , and therefore that it ought with that same carefulness to be contended for . Experience both of the having and wanting of it , hath given it this Epistle of Commendation , so as it may be both known and read of all men : Which is also true of the solemne Engagements of the Nation thereto , by the National Covenant , and Solemn League and Covenant , which I have esteem'd in their Rise and Renewing , pregnant performances of that promise , *Isaiah. 44: 5.* where it is evident , that where

where Church Reformation come to any maturity, they arrive at this degree of saying. *I am the Lord, and subscribing with the hand unto the Lord,* So was it in the dayes of the Reforming Kings of Iudah, and after the Restauration from the Captivity in the dayes of *Nebemiah*: This same promise did the Lord Jesus make Yea and Amen to us, when he redeemed us from spirituall Babylon, which is so much the greater evidence, that these were the very Motions of Gods Spirit in our first Reformers, that they were exprely designed against the greatest motions of the Spirit of Darkness in Antichrist and his supposts, and against the greatest confirmations that ever these Abominations attained by the decrees of the Council of Trent, and that bloody Bond called, the *Holy League*. And therefore whatever indignity is done unto these Covenants, I do esteeme to be no less than doing despite unto the spirit of Grace in his most eminent Exerting of himself; but especially Declaring against the same as flowing from the Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion, to be a Sin of the same nature with theirs, who ascribed Christ his casting out of Devils to *Boelzebub*; and that with this aggravation, that these Scribes and Pharisees came never the length of professing Christ, and submitting themselves to Him and his ways.

But we are condemned to death upon the account of this Covenant, for adhering to the duties therein sworn to, by such as once did as much themselves as we have done, and some of them more than some of us: Whid considerations have moved me to great feares of Gods wrath against the Land, according to the curse that we are bound under, if we should break that Covenant, and the fear of it many times to powr out my soul before the Lord: and as soon as I heard of a Party up in Armes behalf of the Covenant; (all other door being shut whereby the redress of the manifest violations of it might be obtained, and these by manifest and unheard of lea-

lence obtruded upon others) to go along with them, being bound by that Covenant against detestable indifference and Neutrality in this matter, and to esteem every injury done to any ingaged in this Covenant, upon account of it, as done to my self : Very Conscience of duty urged me to this, against some reluctancy of fear of what might follow. Upon the same reasons at Lanrik, with the rest I declared my adherence to the Covenant, by my lifting up of my hand, afier the Articles thereof were read.

And here I cannot but with grief of heart acknowledge my fainting in a day of trial, that being ingaged with them upon such accounts, I many times in fear designed to withdraw, and at length did, which, as it was the occasion of my falling into the hands of the Enemy, so I think among other things it was the cause why God delivered me into their hands. Upon the same fear, in all my Examinations I have denied my ingagement with them, and endeavoured to Vindicate my self, by asserting the real designes I had to part from them, and have utterly cast away the glory of a testimony, which my very being in their company, as a favourer of the ends of the Covenant, and as one willing to contribute my best endeavours for the promeving of them but especially my declaring for the Covenant, did bear unto the Truth and Ordinances of Jesus Christ against this untoward Generation : This I confess to be no less than a denying of Jesus Christ, and a being ashamed of his Words before men ; but I hope the Lord who remembreth that we are but frail dust, shall not lay it to my charge, but according to his faithfulness and Grace will forgive me, who by this Publick Confession, take to my self shame and confusion of face, and flee to the propitiation offered to all sinners in Jesus Christ. And these things as they have procured this death unto me, as an act of Gods Justice ; so they mind me of other evils in mine own heart.

that have been the source of this my unwillingnes to take on Christ's Cross : My heart hath not studied to maintaine that Spirituality in walking with God, and Edifying Exemplarines with others, that became one that had received the first fruits of the Spirit, and aimed at the Ministry of the Gospel, living in times of so much calamity for the Church of God , and particular afflictions as to my self. If I had spent my dayes in groaning after my house from Heaven , would I have shifted so fair an occasion of being cloathed with it ? Alas that I have loved my Lord and Master Jesus Christ so little ! Alas that I have done so little service to him , that I have so little labour to follow Me to my Everlasting rest. This I speak to these especially , with whom I have familiarly conversed in my Pilgrimage , that seeing the Lord will not grant me Life to testify my real Reformation of these things , my acknowledgement at Death may have influence upon them , to study not only Godliness but the Power of it.

As I knowledge that I have not been free & ingenuous in these particulars forementioned , so in other things, wherein I interponed that Holy name of God , as to the not being upon the Contrivance of this rising in Armes, nor privy to any resolution thereanent , nor conscious of any Intelligence at home or abroad concerning it , I was most ingenuous : As they have wronged me much , who said that I denied upon Oath , that which they were able to make out against me , or knew to be truth ; But none allege Perjury against me , but such as are so manifetly guilty of it before the World , that their tongues in such alleageances are no flande.

Although I be Judged and condemned as a Rebel amongst Men , Yet I hope even in order to this Action to be accepted as Loyal before God. Nay there can be no greater act of Loyalty to the King , as the times now goe than for every man to do his utmost for the Exirpation

of that abominable plant of Prelacy , which is the bane of the Throne and of the Countrey : which if it be not done , the Throne shall never be established in Righteousness, until these wicked be removed from before it. Sure I am, these who are now condemned as Rebels against Him by them , are such as have spent much time in prayer for Him , & do more sincerely wish his standing , and have endeavoured it more by this late action so much condemned , than the Prelates by condemning them to death.

This *Disaster* hath heightened greatly the Afflictions of our Church , and ought to teach all of you to drink the Wine of Astonishment : Ye have not known tribulation till now ; Now we Judge them happy that are fallen asleep and removed far away , and know that God hath been taking away his Servants from the Evils that were to come. Know that God's designe is to make many hearts contrite , that have been formerly too whole , and have not lamented sufficiently the removall of his Ordinances and Ministry , & the reproach rubbed upon the Work of Reformation. Beware that your sorrow be not a momentany motion of common Compassion , that evanisheth when it may be, there is some intermission in this violent course of shedding innocent blood : Labour to have a constant impression that may sacrifice the heart , nay ye would live much in apprehension of approaching Judgement. Certainly the Withdrawing of many from us , and not contributing their help to the great work they were ingaged to , as well as we , the generall Rising against us in many places of the Countrey, but above all this open shedding of the blod of the Saints , which involveth the land in the guiltiness of all the righteous blood shed from the foundation of the World, have made Scotland fit fewell for the fire of Gods Wrath. I can say nothing concerning times to come , but this , All things shall work together

for good to them that Love God, and so this present dispensation ; And they shall have most comfort in this promise , who are most willing that such afflictions as we are brought to , be the way that God chooseth to work their good.

Commit wholly the management of all matters to God , and make it your intire study night and day to keep your very garments clean : It is hard in times of so generall Corruptions not to be defiled one way or other ; be free of the Sin as you would be of the Judgements , which will certainly be such as will make all the Churches Know , that God is the searcher of the hearts and trier of the reins , *Revel. 2. 23.* and so will not be mocked by these pretences , whereby men colour their going along in an evill course , from the real Love that they have to a present world. If naked Presence amongst them who are esteemed Rebels by men , be sufficient to engage them in the Crime and Punishment (for that is all the ground of my Condemnation) shall not God be much more Zealous of his own glory , against all who so much as seem to go along with this course of backsliding.

As a good Mean and encouragement , to all the duties of our time , labour to be rooted and grounded in the Love of Jesus Christ ; This will be tender of any thing that may have the least reflexion upon him , his Words or Works , and will prompt the soul to Zealous appearing for Him at the greatest hazard , and to as much willingness to die for Him , as to Live that they may Glorify Him. And for the encouragement of you all in this matter , I do declare , that ever since the day of my coming into prison , God hath kepted my soul free from all Amazement or fear of death ; that since my inditement and sentence , God hath so manifested Himself at several times , that he hath lifted up my soul above Prelats , Principalities , and Powers , Death and Hell , to rejoice and

and be glad in His Salvation ; and from my soul to account him Worthy , for whom in this his Cause I should undergo the greatest shame or Paine; And to the assured hopes of Eternal Communion with him in Heaven: And that nothing hath more brangled my peace, than shifting an open and free testimony before my Examinators , to the work that I was ingaged in.

I do freely pardon all that have accession to my blood, and wish that it be not laid to the charge of this sinful Land , but that God would grant Repentance to our Rulers , that they may obtaine the same reconciliation with Him , whereof I my self do partake. Truely I believe many of them, if not instigated by the cruel Prelats (at whose door our blood doth principally ly) would have used more mitigation: But that reluctancy of mind to shed blood , will be so far from Vindicating of them, that upon the contrary , it will be a witness against them in the Day of the Lord.

I heartily submit my self to Death, as that which God hath appointed to all men because of Sin , and to this particular way of it, as deserved by my particular Sins. I praise God for this Fatherly chastrisement , whereby he hath made me in part, and will make me perfectly partaker of his Holiness. I glorify Him that called me forth to suffer for His Name and Ordinances , and the solemne engagements of the Land to Him, and that he hath taken this way to take me away from the evill to come. The Lord bless all His Poor Afflicted groaning People that are behind.

Hereaftre I will nor talk with flesh and blood , nor think on the Worlds consolations : Farewel all my Friends, whose company hath been refreshful to me in my Pilgrimage ; I have done with the Light of the Sun and Moon. Welcome Eternal Life, Everlasting Love, Everlasting Praise, Everlasting Glory. Prayse to Him that sits upon the Throne, and to the Lamb for ever.

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Though I have not been so with Thee as I ought to have been in the house of my Pilgrimage, yet thou hast made with me an Everlasting Covenant, Ordered in all things & Sure. And this is all my Salvation, and all my desire. Bless the Lord O my Soul ! that hath pardoned all my Iniquities in the Blood of His Son, and healed all my Diseases. Bless Him O all ye his Angels that excell in strength, ye Ministers that do his pleasure. Bless the Lord O my Soul ! Hallelujah. Edinburgh Tolbooth, December 22. 1666.

Sic subscrbitur

*Hew Mc Kail.*

I Have heard that some of the Prisoners are willing to save their lives by taking the *Declaration*, That is, by abjuring the Work and Cause for which they adventured their Lives: Which if they do, our blood shall be witness against them in the great Day of God. And God shall so punish some of them in this Life, that they shall curse the day that ever they shifted to dy on a scaffold.

*Hew Mc Kail.*

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**The Testimony of**

**J O H N V V O D R O V V,**

Merchant in Glasgow, whodied  
in Edinburgh, Decemb. 22. 1666.

**Dear Friends.**

I Am condemned to die, I shall say little concerning men who have judged and condemned me, they are to answer to God for it; But I bless the Lord, who hath

hath counted me worthy to die for so good and honourable a cause. And that I be not mistaken after I am gone hence I have thought fit to testify that in singleness and sincerity of heart, I came into the service, not constrained, but from conscience of my being engaged by Covenant to God, and with a full purpose to perform my vows made in that Covenant unto the Lord, in the strength of Jesus Christ. And that I might endeavour to restore again the precious Ordinances to their former purity and power, and to recover the fair Church in this Land (which our blessed Lord hath purchased to Himself, and brought at so dear a rate) to her former Beauty, which is now defaced: And particularly to bring down that Antichristian Prelacy, and that perfidious crew of Prelats, who have so perfidiously wronged the Interest of our blessed Lord & Master, Jesus Christ. This is the only Cause for which I undertook this service, and joyned with others my dear and Covenanted brethren; And that I had no intention to wrong the Kings person or Authority, but to seek his real good, according to my duty in the Word of God, and also as I swear in the same Covenant wherein I did swear against Prelacy. And notwithstanding I be condemned of men as a *Rebel*, yet I am justified of God, my God & Father, in and through my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who giveth me sweet peace of conscience and joy of heart: I grant it is not enough to justify me before Him, that I had a just Cause, unless likewise I had therewith the acceptation of my person through Faith in the Merits of Jesus Christ, who standeth in our nature in heaven, which I dare declare this day as a dying man, that I have obtained; for I am confident through His righteousness made over unto me, He hath made me free, in which I shall stand for ever; and that within a few hours I shall see Him in peace, as I am seen of Him; and behold and wonder, and wonder and behold for

evermore that most glorious excellency of His: And this yeeldeeth to me great consolation in all my extremities, were they never so great; This I say is my peace and consolation this day, even Christ my Righteousness, who hath both accepted my Person and Cause: Therefore I count it a small thing to be judged and condemned of men, for my Testimony is on high, and my reward in heaven.

And now, *my Friends*, I am condemned to die for adhering to my Covenant made with God, for Reformation of Religion and Conversation, to which all ranks of the Land are as well bound as I, though many (alas! too many) shaking off all fear of God have despised the Oath, not only by breaking the Covenant, but by professing and declaring avowedly the bond thereof null, and not binding either to their own or other mens consciences: And this mischief is framed by a Law, which doth greatly heighten the Sin, O! tell not in *Gath*, and publish it not in *Askelon*. Oh! that this should be heard of amongst Papists and Pagans, that professed Reformed Protestants should stand in so little awe of a solemn Oath, & Name of the great and living God.

But I exhort and obtest you all, that so much the more as others have made void his Covenant, you would esteem it the more precious, and closely follow the Reformation vowed, in every Article thereof, upon all occasions given you of the Lord; And that you abhorre, detest and refuse any engagement whatsoever, that may wrong your Oath in the Covenant directly or indirectly, as ye would escape the wrath of God that is coming on such breaking of Covenant, but rather choose the greatest extremity of affliction, than the least sin of this sort as Moses did, who refused to be called the Son of Pharaohs Daughter, but chused rather to suffer reproach for Christ; And be not afraid of suffering for Christ as though

though it were an evil thing, neither scar ye at His crois  
for the Lord Himself saith, *My yoke is easy and My burthen  
light*; Yea it is lighter to us than to many that stand by:  
Believe; Faith maketh all burthens light to the believing  
Sufferer.

And now I beseech you believers in Christ, abide in  
Him, and bring forth fruit unto Holiness, and study ten-  
derness in all manner of conversation, and holiness, with-  
out which no man shall see the Lord; and let not this pro-  
phane & mocking Generation have any thing to reproach  
you with, but that whereof you would not be ashamed,  
that when you suffer ye may not suffer as evil doers, that  
whereas they speak evil of you, they may be ashamed that  
fally accuse your good conversation in Christ. It is not  
knowledge nor a bare Profession that glorifieth God, but  
Tenderness, Holiness and Righteousness, that do com-  
mend Religion and his Cause to all men, and shall con-  
vince your Adversaries of their Wickednes in wronging  
you, and make them the more inexcusable in that day,  
when they shall be judged: Yea, what know ye, but  
ye may win others by your tender and good conversa-  
tion?

I recommend to you, that ye would be much and fer-  
vent in the use of that precious duty of Pra er wherein  
most near Communion with God upon earth is to be  
found: Be much in prayer with, and for others. For-  
sake not the assemblin<sup>z</sup> of your selves together as the  
manner of some is (I wish they may see the evil of it who  
neglect it), but exhort one an other, and so much the  
more, as ye see the day approaching: Earnestnes and  
diligence will hasten the Lords coming with relief unto  
you, and to the Lords born down Work; & your slack-  
ness in this, may make the wheels of his chariot to move  
the more slowly. For the effectual fervent prayer of the  
righteous availeth much with God; It will do more than

Armies of men and weapons of War for your defence and deliverance.

I beseech you also, *my dear Friends*, that you acquaint yourselves with the Word of God in the holy Scripture, that ye may have acquaintance with Jesus Christ, who is clearly set forth therein; that ye may know him in his excellency, and come to love and believe in him, whom ye know; that ye may be acquainted with his revealed will therein, and may know what is truth, and cleave thereto, from a sure persuasion that it hath the warrant of his word; and may be guarded against every error of the wicked, and that ye may fully know what is good and what is evil; and that ye may suffer with confidence, when ye are brought forth thereto as I am.

Finally, *my dear Friends*, be ye perfect, be of good comfort, be of one minde, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

JOHN WODROW.

The Copy of

JOHN WODROW

His Letter to His VVife, dated Decemb. 22. 1666. which was the Day on which He suffered.

*My Heart.*

R Everence the good Providence of the Lord our God, who can do nothing wrong; For whatsoever he doth is well done, and my Soul saith, Amen. I had not a will

of my own (my heart) since that day wherein You and I parted, My Lord and my God captivated it, and brought unto a submission unto his will: I bless him for evermore for it, that I was never left to my own will; Praise, O praise him all ye living! And O thou my soul praise the Lord for it. I bless the Lord evermore, that ever he visited my Fathers Family, that ever he condescended to come unto my Fathers Family, and to give a visit to the like of me: He visited me there, and set his Love upon me, and hath chosen me for this very end, to be a witness for his covenanted Reformation. For this my Soul is gald, & my Glory rejoiceth for this honour, where with he hath honoured me; And that, though I be condemned to die by men on earth, yet am I justified of God through the blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ, who standeth in our nature in heaven, and hath made me free through his imputed Righteou'ness made over unto me, in which I stand for ever; And with'n a few hours I shall see him in peace, as I am seen of him, and behold and wonder, and wonder and behold for evermore, even that most glorious excellency which is in him. All that which is spoken of him is but little: O my heart, my dear love, come and see I beseech you? I thought I had known something of my dearest Lord before, that I had some love from & to him before, but never was it so with me, as it hath been with me since I came within the doors of this prison; many a precious visit hath his gracious Majestie given unto me. He is without all comparison; O love, love him! O come to him, O taste and see; and that shall resolve the question best. The thing I suffer for is the Covenanted Reformation. I bless God, and all that is within me doth bless and magnify his holy Name for this, that Scotland did ever enter into a Covenant with the Lord, into a sworn Covenant, with the hand lifted up to the Lord: And I have now sworn & renewed this Covenant again for my self and you, and my four Children in all the parts and points

points thereof; And I pray, God help you to abide in the Covenant for ever.

And now I give you and my four Children unto the Lord, and commit you to him as your Covenanted God and Husband, and my Childrens Covenanted Father. I say no more, but either study to be indeed a sincere Christian, and a seeker of his face in sincerity, or else you will be nothing at all. I recommend you and your young ones to him, who is God all sufficient, and aboundeth in mercy and love to them that love him and keep his Covenant. The blessing of the Covenant be upon you, so fare ye well. So saith

*Your loving and dying Husband*

**JOHN WODROW.**

**The Testimony of  
RALPH SHIELDS,**

An English man who died in *Edinburgh*,  
Decemb. 22. 1666.

*My Friends.*

I Am come here to die, and I thank God, it is not for evil doing that I now suffer: although I be charged with Rebellion against the Kings authority, yet I declare before God and you all, that in all this matter I never intended to wrong his Majesties just Power and greatness but for conscience sake did respect authority, as the Ordinance of God appointed for the punishment of evil doers, & that I with his Majesty all welfare both in this life, and the world to come, and that it may be his happiness to consider his

Obi

Obligations to God and Perform the same, that so it may be well with him and his Posterity to many generations; and I pray God make him a friend to His Cause, and the truly Godly who own the same, though falsely called Phanaticks or turbulent persons.

I declare I have such perswasion of the Interest of Religion Reformed, and sworn unto in the Covenant, that I dare venture not only to lay down my own life, but if every hair of my head were a man, they should all be put to venture for this cause: I would not have the world to stumble at the Cause, because of my death after this manner; for I rejoice greatly in it, and I desire every good Christian as they tender their own souls good that they would grip fast, lay hold on, and cleave to Jesus Christ and his way.

My coming out at this time (I say) was not against his Majesty, but for the Covenant which is now trodden under foot; My intention was for the cause of Christ; I take God to witness, it was nothing else I came out for, and for that I am free to lay down my life.

I bless God I am much encouraged in this, and not at all afraid to die for so good and clear a cause; and I hope He will bring me thorow all my difficulties in this dark shadow of death: I hope I have the peace of a good conscience, and have had some glimpses from Jesus Christ of His countenance and reconciled Face, since I came into this prison, for which I desire to bless His Name with all my soul, heart and spirit. And I rejoice that He hath made use of me to suffer for His Cause; And I think it too little, not only to lay down my body, but (if it were possible) even my very soul at the stake for that cause, and for Jesus Christ my good and kind Master, who hath loved me and given Himself for me. I give the Lord thanks that I had some of his presence since I came into this condition: And again I say, I am much

encouraged and not afraid to die, and bless him that die not as murtherer, or evil doer, or Rebel to Authority, but for such a cause as this.

O that it were the happiness of my Nation of *England*, once to subject themselves unto the sweet yoke of Christ's Reformed Government, under which this Nation of *Scotland* hath enjoyed so much of the Power and life of the Gospel, by a faithful Ministry according to the Covenant sworn by them both.

And now, my dear Friends in Christ, and fellow Countrymen, though I be a stranger in this Land, being an Englishman, but trusted by providence in the prosecution of my calling, to have my residence for a time here in *Scorland*, which I look upon, as a singular evidence of Gods special love to me, though I be a stranger, I say, to many of you, yet I must be bold as a dying friend to beseech you by the mercy of God, and by your appearance before Jesus Christ, when we shall have to do with none but Him as our Judge, that ye be faithful and stedfast in the cause of God, and Covenant which ye have sworn with hands lifted up to the most high God, which no power on earth can loose you from, and that ye keep you from snares unto the contrary, and not suffer yourselves to fall into a detestable Neutrality and Indifferency in that cause of God; And especially that ye keep your selves free of any Engagements by word or writs, that may wrong your Oath of the Covenant. I commit my Wife and Children to his care, who careth for them that put their trust in Him before the Sons of men, not doubting but they shall be eyed with good will and favour by the Godly, after I am gone. And now I render up my Spirit to him who gave it me, & for whose sake I now lay down my life. To this God my Covenanted God, be glory, blessing and praise for now and ever, Amen.

That this is my mind and Testimony, which I leave

leave behind me, I witness by my ordinary subscription,

R. SHIELDS.

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The Testimony of  
H U M P H R E Y C O L H O U N E ,  
At this Death in *Edinburgh*, De-  
cemb. 22. 1666.

*Dear Friends and Spectators,*

I am come here this day to this Place to die this Death, for crimes for which (I thank God) my Conscience doth not condemn me. My crime, as is alleged, is for Disloyalty against the Kings Majesty; Yet I thank God, that my appearing lately with the Lords People was from the sense of my obligation in the Covenant, and the sense of the wrongs done in the Land, and the crying oppressions committed therein. This was the end of my appearing for the Lord against His enemies, to bear witness against the same: The which obligation of the Oath of God, I judge that none on earth can loose the Conscience from. I bless the Lord again and again, I die for this Oath and Covenant; And I thank God also, that I have by the great mercy of the Almighty God in Christ Jesus, obtained mercy and forgiveness for all my transgressions both against the first and second Table of the Law: And that through that Ocean of grace which is in the Lord Jesus Christ, I believe that I am justified and sanctified, and believe now to be glorified with Him, by that blessed blood of His, which hath purchased this Salvation to me, through faith in the same,

same, made application of, according to the good Covenant of grace. He hath performed this, out of his wonderful and incomparable free grace: And this is my joy & exceeding great rejoicing & consolation, and all my salvation, for which I am Graces debtor throughout all Eternity. I die with this my Testimony, my adherence to the National Covenant, to the Solemn League and Covenant, to the Work of Reformation a great length carried on, and now overthrown most sinfully by ungodly Men, who have established their Apostacy by Law, which no just Power on earth could ever do. Also I adhere to the Presbyterial Government, the Confession of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, And to the Solemn Acknowledgement of the Church of Scotland, and Publick Testimonies thereof against the sins of the time. This day I rejoice that he hath counted me worthy to lay down my life for him, as one that beareth witness against the breach of all the Sacred Oaths & Ties that were established in this Land yea by the just Lawes both of God and Man, which never could have been repealed lawfully, as this wicked Generation hath done.

Dear Friends, I hope ye will stand fast in this Obligation, and in the Solemn Oath and Ties ye are under, and all the body of the Land also will be stedfast in the same, upon the greatest hazard ye can meet with; And that ye will study perfect holiness and nearness with God, which will help to keep you straight in this day of Persecution and sharp Trial that is now raging in this Land: I bless the Lord, I die not a fool, though some men have thought so of me by their speeches to me, since my imprisonment: Neither durst I ever be the man to buy my liberty at such a dear rate as Perjury, & to shake off these blessed bonds I did willingly come under; and I thank God, I never yet to this moment rued or repented it; And sure I am it is better for me to suffer the world

worst of deaths, than to preserve my life by breaking the Oaths of God. I also give my Testimony against Prelacy, and that wicked Hierarchy now established in this Land, as that which the Church of Christ could never bear until this day, it being such a grand Enemy to the purity of the Gospel, and power of Godliness, yea a yoke which the Church of God groaneth under. I have no more to say, but commends all you the lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ to God himself, and to the good word of his grace, which is able to build you up until the day of his appearance, &c to give you all an inheritance with them that are sanctified through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. And subscribes my self an expectant and apparent heir of the grace of Christ.

Humphrey Colboorne.

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### The Testimony

# JOHN WILSON,

Who suffered at Edinburgh,  
Decemb. 22. 1666.

*Good People and Spectators.*

I Am here condemned to die upon alleged Rebellion against the King and his Authority, which God knoweth, I never intended. For in my judgement, a man's endeavouring to extirpate perfidious Prelates and abjured Prelacy, according as he is bound by Oath in a sworn Covenant, may very well stand with a man's Loyalty to King and Country; for I am sure, the King and his Subjects may be happy, yea more happy in the extirpation of Prelates and Prelacy, than in their standing; Yea the Throne shall never be established in

peace, until that wicked plant be plucked up by the roots, which hath so much wasted and made desolate the Lord's Vineyard: For my part, I pray that the Lord may bless our King with blessings from Heaven, and make him a friend to the Interests of Christ, as the best way for the standing of his Throne to many generations; And I pray for all that are in Authority under his Majesty, that the Lord may not lay to their charge the innocent blood of His Saints, which they have shed. But the ground of my sentence is truly, the renewing of the Covenant with my God, and labouring to defend the same, according to my Oath: And this I profess is and was my duty, and by the grace of God will not quite it; And in token hereof, I am here before you all to lay down my life in defence of the same, and require you all to be witnesses to this my Testimony; I do declare, I am not ashamed, but count it my glory. I do likewise declare this before you all in the sight of God, the Judge of all hearts, that since the day I did first swear and subscribe this Covenant for Reformation, it hath been sweet unto me, for I am perswaded in my Conscience of the warrantableness thereof. I did swear the Covenant four times, and the last time at Lanrik, which was the sweetest time to me of them all; For with my whole soul I renewed it, and gave up both my soul and body to Him, to be at His disposal, which, I trust in God, I shall never rue. Hearty praise and thanks be to the blessed God, that ever it pleased Him to give unto this poor Church that mercy to enter in Covenant with Himself, that He might be unto us a Covenanted God, the richest mercy that can be bestowed on men. I have lived a Presbyterian in my judgements according as I have sworn, and judge it to be the only way that God hath appointed in His word, for the Government of His Church on earth; for under that

Government the power and practice of Religion hath greatly flourished, and many a soul has been converted to the Lord, and found sweet fellowship with Him in His Ordinances, by the Ministry of His honest and lawfully called Servants. And blessed be the day that ever I heard a faithfull sent Minister preach the Gospell. I do declare before heaven and earth, that my whole designe in this Rising in Armes, was only against abjured Prelacy and Prelates, the great Oppressors of God's Interests, and cruell persecuters of His People, both in their consciences and bodies; and I judge their Govetnment and way not to be conforme to the Word of God in the Holy Scriptures. I might cite many Scriptures to this purpose, but I shall only name two *Luke 22. 26. but ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.* And *I Pet. 5. 3. neither as being Lords over God's heritage, &c.* Yea it may be seen from sad experience, that under their Government, the power of Godliness hath decayed, and avowed prophanity and Popery it self hath increased, both to the dishonour of the holy Lord, and the great grief of the hearts of the Godly. I am so perswaded of the truth of the Covenant, and of the error of their way, and that Jesus Christ is the only King and Lord over His own House, and besides Him there is none else, for He will not give his glory to another, I am so perswaded of these things, that I dare seal the truth thereof with my blood, and am come hither for the same end, without any fear or amazement; yea if every hair of mine head were a man, I would have ventured all according to the Covenant which I made with my God; And although I be a poor polluted sinner, and my house not so with God, as it became; yet hath he made with me an everlasting Covenant, well ordered in all things and sure, and this is all my Salvation and all my desire; And I hope the

Lord will soon tread down all His enemies with shame, and the enemies of His Covenant also. Therefore, let all that love the Lord Jesus Christ and His Truth and Covenant, take comfort and courage, notwithstanding of all which is come to pass, And let them not be ashamed to adhere thereunto, whatsoever suffering they meet with therein, for He will make up that loss in Himself, and avenge the wrongs done to Himself and them in His own due time : I assure you, Christ is a good Master to serve : if ye knew Him rightly and His cross, it is sweet and easy to the believer ; for He maketh death to be life, & bringeth light out of darkness. I desire to follow the blessed Captain of my salvation through well and wo. I beseech you, *my dear Friends*, whom now I am to part with, that ye stand to the defence of all the truths of God and of His Word ; and that ye receive the Lord Christ, as He hath offered Himself therein, ye who have not closed with Him ; And that he who hath closed with Him, abide in Him by a lively faith and love, bringing forth fruits, that you may putt credit on your profession, and keep off every thing that may shame your glorious and blessed Master before this evill and adulterous generation. And I give you all warning and dehort you heartily as ye love your own souls, and as ye will answer to Him, who shall judge the quick and dead, that ye stand fast in all the duties ye are sworn unto in the National and in the Solemn League and Covenant, both towards God, your King and one another : And that ye beware of snares in taking of any Oaths or Declarations contrary in the least, to the Oath of God in these Covenants. I leave my wife and little children upon Jesus Christ my Lord, who are now to be made a widow & fatherless for his sake, trusting, He will care for them, And I recommend them to the counsell and kindness of His people under Him. I can forgive the wrong done to me in taking away my life,

life for this Cause, and wish God to be merciful to these that have condemned me, or have hand in my death: But blessed be God, that brought and hath kept me on His side of this Cause, and honoured me to be a publick witness for Him and His blessed Truth, and Cause; for which I shall praise Him in the World to come, whither I now go: yea I will praise Him on the borders of Death and Eternity. To His blessed Name, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be praise for now and ever. So saith your dying friend for Christ.

*John Wilson.*

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A true Relation of the Sufferings  
and Death of  
Mr H E W M C K A I L  
Preacher of the Gospel.

Mr *Hew Mc Kail* having passed, and improven the vertuous means of his Education (at the University of Edinburgh, and with his Uncle *Mr Hew Mc Kail*, Minister there, in whose family he did reside) to the satisfaction and good hope of all, in the Winter 1661, upon the very turne of this sad Catastrophe, offers himself to Tryall (being 20 years old) before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in order to the work of the Ministry; and being by them amply approven and licensed, and having preached at several times with the great benefit & applause of all his hearers, he did preach his last publick Sermon in Edinburgh, in the Great Church thereof, upon the Sabbath immediatly preceeding that of September 1662. the day affixed by the then Parliament, for the removal of the Ministers of Edinburgh. His text was Song 1. 7. In this Sermon taking occa-

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upon to speak of the great and many persecutions ; to  
which the Church of God hath been and is obnoxious ;  
and amplifying the Point from the Persons and Powers  
who have been instrumental therein , he said , that the  
*Church and People of God had been persecuted , both by a Pha-*  
*raoh upon the Throne , a Haman in the State , and a Judas in*  
*the Church ; and falling to inlarge the several wayes and*  
*manner of the Persecutions of these men , and the issue*  
*thereof ; the cases of Haman and Judas appeared in the*  
*conviction of his Adversaries , to have such a near resem-*  
*blance to the state and condition of the then Rulers of*  
*State and Church , that though he did make no applica-*  
*tion , yet he was reputed to be guilty thereof.*

Whereupon , within a few dayes thereafter , there was  
a Party of Horsemen sent to the Place where he then  
lived near to Edinburgh , for to seize his Person and make  
him Prisoner . But upon almost no more than a moments  
advertisement , he escapes out of his bed , and shifting  
only to another chamber , was miraculously preserved  
from the Search then used , though most diligent and ac-  
curate . For this cause he being necessitated to leave that  
Place , retired home-ward to his Fathers house , where  
having lurked a while , and thereafter as occasions call'd  
him spent the four years that have since interveen'd , in  
several places and with much uncertainty . Yet during  
all this space , to the certain knowledge and sweet re-  
membrance of all that conversed with him , he was most  
seriously exercised in the Study of Piety & true Know-  
ledge , wherein as he greatly advanced above all his e-  
quals , so at length he became most eminent and exem-  
plary .

While he is thus living and employed at his Father  
house , the late Troubles arising in the West fall out ; and  
the newes thereof having alarmed him with the rest of  
that Countrey , upon the 18. of Nov. last , being the Sab-  
bath , for such motives and upon such considerations , as

he himself doth fully afterward declare, he joined himself to those who rose in these parts for the assisting of that poor afflicted Party, as in their consciences, by their covenant, they thought themselves indispensably obliged.

When and where he joined with them, or what was his part, or endeavours amongst them, needs not to be remembred. Only this is certain, that being of a thin body, and tender constitution, he was so disabled and weakened with the toil and fatigue of continual marching and tempestuous weather (particularly at *Air*, where he lay a considerable time, as if he had been dead, by reason of fainting) that he could no longer endure it. Whereupon, on *Tuesday November 27.* he was necessitated to part from them in the morning, neer to the New Bridge upon *Cramond water*: And in his way towards *Libberton* Parish, about twelve of the clock passing through *Bread's Craigs*, he was taken, without resistance, having only a small ordinary sword, by such of the Countreymen, as were then sent out to view the fields; in which passage it is very observable, that his escape formerly mentioned was not more miraculous, than his present taking was fatal: for it is without question, had he but retained and observed the least of that advertency and caution, wherein at other times he was known to be both ready and very happy, he might, without either hazard or trouble, have escaped this inconvenience; but God who gave him the full experience of his turning all things unto the good of them that love Him, did thus by his simplicity and folly, prepare the way for His own Glory and His servants joy and Victory.

Being brought to *Edinburgh*, and first to the Towns Council-house, in their search for letters he was immediately stript; and there being none found, committed prisoner to the *Folbooth*.

Upon the *Wednesday*, being the 28. of *November* by order from the *Secret Council*, he was brought before the

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Earle of Dumfreis, Lord Sinclair, Sir Robert Murray of Preſfield and others, in order to his Examination, and being interrogate concerning his joyning and being with the *West land forces*, he conceiving himself not obliged by Law or Reason, to be his own Accuser, to the destruction of his life, did plainly deny the question; but being desired to ſigne with his hand, what he had laid and they cauſed write, though at firſt he appeared willing, yet partly being advised by the Lord Sinclair, to beware the he ſubſcribed nothing, whereof the contrary would be found true, leſt it might therefore fare the worse with him, and partly ſcrupling at the terms of *Rebells* and *Rebellion*, wherein the queſtion and his Anſwer were conceivēd, & partly bethinking that a ſimplē denyall may impoſe more than the pleading of *Not guilty*, he refuſed to ſubſcribe his name, which being reported to the Council gaue great offence, and brought him under the ſuſpition of a deep diſlembler.

On Thursday Novemb. 29. being again called before his Examinators, upon the conſiderations mentioned, and for allaying the Councils prejudice, and preventing the inconvenience he might therethrough ſustain, he gives in a Declaration under his own hand, teſtifying, that he had been with the *Westland Forces*, with whom he occaſionally met, and that he reſolved to have withdrawn from them upon the firſt opportunity, which he was also abou to do when he was taken, without either offering to flee or reſift, which he deſired the Council the rather to be lieve, because he had told ſo much to William Latry of Blackwood, a perſon employed from the Lieut. Generall Dalzell to the *Westland Forces*. But notwithstanding that William Latry did teſtify this to be a truth, yet the Council retaining former impreſſions, and apprehending that the preſence and confronting of ſome other Priſoners of the *Westland Forces* (who plainly declared their accession to that Riſing) and their deponing concerning him,

## and Death of Mr Hew Mc Kail. 313

him, did only move *Mr Hew* to this acknowledgement, although it be certainly known, that he had formed and subscribed the same the night before, they fortify and persist in their jealousy, and suspecting him to have been a contriver of the Insurrection, and privy to all Designes & Intelligence relating to it, they dealt with him with great importunity to be ingenuous, and to declare who were the King leaders of the late Rising, and what correspondence either at home or abroad was kept a-nentit: And this was done especially upon the *Monday Decemb. 3.* at which time also the *Boots* (a terrible instrument of Torture which the humanity of our latter times hath so much abhorred, that not only the fashion of them was forgot, but all Torture for their cause, dis-fused; yet new ones such as they are) were laid before him, upon the Town Council House table, and he certified, that if he would not confess, he should be tortured by them to morrow. And accordingly upon *Tuesday Dec. 4.* he was again called before the Council, where, after the examination & torture of *John Neison of Corfack* he was Examined by the *Earle of Rothes* the Kings Commissioner, the *Marques of Montrose*, and several of the Privy Council, (in the Town Council House) the Bishop of *St Andrews* for the honour of his profession forsooth, and some others of the Counsellers upon more real and Christian motives, having at first withdrawn themselves: And being urged to confess, he declared, with a solemn Attestation, that he knew no more, than he had already confessed, whereupon they ordered the *Executioner* to put his leg into the Boot and to proceed to the Torture. But as he had before confessed and declared ingenuously all he knew, so this Torture (though in it self very violent and painful, by the extraordinary compression both of flesh, sinews and bones, by the force of timber wedges and hammer, and used upon him in a double measure, even to ten or

eleven stroakes , with considerable intervals ; as there remained no truth concealed which it could not extort did not in the least move him to express any impatience or bitterness , but having sustained it most constantly & Christianly before he got the last three stroakes , he protested solemnly in the sight of God , that he could say no more , though all the joints of his body were in as great torture as that poor leg , and desires to know what could hinder them to believe one of his Profession , who had so solemnly declared as in the sight of God , that he knew no more than he had told , viz . that to the best of his knowledge , the Rising in the West was meerly occa-  
sional , upon a discontent betwixt the people in the Star-  
ary of Galloway and Sir James Turner , to which every  
one did run , as their hearts moved them when they heard  
of it.

This Torture was the cause why we was not indicted with the first ten , who being arraigned and sentenced on Wednesday , Dec. 5. were hanged on the Fryday thereafter , at the Crois of Edinburgh . Many thought that considering his small accession unto that Rising , which neither was nor could be proven to be more , than what he himself had freely confessed , and that he had suffered such hard measure by Torture , and that not in order to the discovery of his own crime , but the declaring of the contrivers and his complices , that the same should have procured him favour , but the matter was otherwise determined . Neither was the Sermon before mentioned , so quite forgotten , though ill remembred , and often repeated in Council in these words *Achab upon the Throne* , and no more , and therefore .

Upon Monday the 10. of Dec. he and other seven received their Inditements of Treason , and were accordingly summoned to appear before the Justices on Wednesday Dec. 12. But his Torture & close Imprisonment thereafter (for so it was ordered ) having cast him in

Fever; whereby he was utterly disenabled to make his appearance,

Upon Tuesday Dec. 11. he gave in to the Lords of Council his Supplication of the Tenor following viz.  
*that whereas I have received an Indictment of Treason, which was yesterday delivered to me, and I appointed to make answer thereto to morrow, and seeing in this matter of the highest importance, not only all the time allowed is very short, but I am and have been ever since my Torture in a great distemper and Fever; besides the great pain and utter inability of my leg, which bath constantly kept me bedfast, and doth render me incapable not only of minding my own Defence, but wholly unable either to walk or stand, far less to go and compair before the Lord Justice, as I doubt not but Physicians will testify, if your Lo: Will order them to visit me, which I humbly beg; And seeing my accession to the Crimes libelled is so very slender, being only simple Presence, and that not only occasional, as I did declare before Your Lo: But also in some sort retracted and purged, by my purposed and actual eff coming and deserting; and lastly, seeing I was put to sore Torture, in order to a further discovery, with a promise of favour, in case of my Ingenuity, which I then singly used, as in the sight of God, to the utmost of my knowledge: May it therefore please Your Lordships, graciously to consider the Premises, especially my utter inability to make my appearance, and to surcease any legal procedour against me in this so weak & extream condition, and to discharge me of the joresaid Citation and Appearance. And your Lo: answer.*

This Petition and the following are therefore set down verbatim, that both the utmost of his condescendence may appear, and the fainting that he so much regrates in his last Speach, be the better understood. And with the same subscribed by him, there was given in an Arrestation under the hands of seven Chirurgeons, declaring his weak and sickly condition.

Hereupon the Council did order two Physicians. and

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two Chirurgeons (viz. Sir Robert Cunningham, Doctor Hay, James Borthwick, and Thomas Kinkead,) to visit him, and to return their Attestation upon soul and conscience, betwixt and the morrow at ten of the Clock, to the Justices.

Upon Wednesday Decemb. 12, the Justices being set, the Attestation of the two Doctors and Chirurgeons above mentioned, is produced for Mr Hew Mc Kail, and other three of the Prisoners indied, and their excuse proponed thereupon. But the Justice finding, that the Attestation, not bearing soul and conscience, did not agree to the Warrant and Order given by the Council, and that the Physicians being called, did refuse upon point of Priviledge to rectify it in these terms, although they declared, that the truth thereof was such, as they might safely confirm it by Oath, they do only supersede their procedour against M. Hew, and other two contained in the Attestation, until to morrow, and ordain John Neilson of Corfack, though also contained in the Attestation, in respect the same as to his part, was not relevant, and the other four, to be brought to the Bar, who accordingly being brought, were that day sentenced to be hanged on Friday thereafter.

Thursday December 13. the Justice Court being set adjourns until Tuesday thereafter, and ordains Mr Hew and the other two to be peremptorily listed that day before the down sitting of the Court. This afternoon, having obtain'd his Reprival, in the thoughts of his dubious condition, he composed the lines following.

*Vitæ ergo innumeris curarum erroribus actæ,*

*Clausula consilii per breve finit iter.*

*Distractor ambigu dubio discrimine fasti :*

*Aeger enim jaceo; fin revalesco, cado.*

Saturday Dec. 8. his Brother M. Matthew goes from Edinburgh to Glasgow, with a Letter from the Lady Mar-

quis

ques of Dowglas, and another from the Duchess of Hamilton to the Lord Commissioner in his favours, but both proved ineffectual.

Likeas his Cousin M. Matthew Mc Kail carried another Letter from the Lady Marquess of Dowglas to the Archibishop of St Andrews for the same purpose, but with no better success.

Dec. 18. Sitting in Judgment, the Lord Renton Justice Clerk, and Mr William Murray (Advocat Justice) Depute.

M. *Hew* being indifferently recovered, he was brought before the Justice with other 3. that were arraigned with him. And first, the general Inditement is read, founded both on old and late Acts of Parliaments, made against Rising and Assembling in Arms, and entering into Leagues and Covenants, and renewing the Solemn League and Covenant, without or against the Kings Authority, declaring the same to be Rebellion and Treason; and thereafter amply subsuming upon all the Acts, Deeds and Passages of the late Insurrection with many aggravations; particularly upon their taking and renewing the Solemn League and Covenant at *Lanrik*; And therefore charging them with, and concluding, that they ought to be punished for the same as Traitors. After which *Mr Hew* his special Inditement is read, bearing, that he had risen and joyned with the Rebels, and was with them at *Air*, *Vchiltry* and *Lanrik*, and several other places on horsback, and had kept and was at several of their Rendevouz's with a Sword. Whereunto *Mr Hew* being permitted to answer, began his discourse very constantly and composedly, declaring, that he looked upon himself both from the conclusion of his Inditement, and what had happened to others, - as a man appointed by men, and determined in himself to die, whereupon he thought himself obliged to use the greater ingenuity, and then affirmed, that he was not ashamed

ashamed to avow that he was one of that afflicted and persecuted party and perswasion called *Presbyterian*. Thereafter he proceeded to speak of the Ties & Engagements that were upon the Land-to-God, in order thereto, and having commended the Institution, Dignity and Blessing of Presbyterial Government, he said that the last words of the National Covenant had alwayes great weight upon his spirit. Whereupon the Kings *Advocate*, interrupting him, desired him to forbear that discourse, telling him that he was not there called in question for his perswasion, but for the crime of Rebellion, in rising in Arms against his Ma: Authority, to which he desired him to answer; whereunto he answered, that the thing which moved him to declare himself as he had, and would have done, was that weighty and important saying of our Lord Iesus, *VVhoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man also confess before the Angels of God; but he that denieh me and my words before men, shall be denied before the Angels of God.* As for the Rebellion he was charged with, he said, his Accetion was only simple presence with a Sword, and that occasional, as his confession before the Council did bear. The *Advocate* answers, that not only presence, such as he was charged with, was treasonable, but all intercommuning or keeping company with *Rebels*, though for the space only of half an hour; and however, he said, he was guilty of a far deeper accession, and of many other things besides these contained in his own confession; whereupon the *Advocate* caused read his Confession, and also the depositions of several others that were examined, in so far as they concerned him. M. *Hew* answered, that al the depositions read, contained no more than was in his own Confession, nor could they make out any more against him; and so in effect it was

The *Advocate* after the sustaining of the Inditement, having made use of, and caused read the confession of M.

*Hew*

## and Death of Mr Hevv Mc Kail 319

Hevv and the other persons accused before the *Affize*, in place of Probation, referred the matter to their Cognition.

The *Affize* being enclosed gave their Verdict *una voce*, and by the mouth of Sir William Murray of Newtown their Chancellor, report him to be guilty of being with the Rebels at several times and places, and at their Rendezvous with a Sword, according to his subscribed confession. However it was thereafter understood, that four or five of the *Affize*, did with reluctance pronounce this Verdict, thinking death too great a punishment for so slender a Guilt, and that the major part of the *Affize* had cleansed him, if the fear of an *Affize* of Error had not prevailed with them.

The Verdict being reported, Doom was pronounced, decerning and adjudging him, and the rest to be taken on Saturday Decemb 22. to the MercateCross of Edinburgh, and there to be hanged on a Gibbet till they be dead, and that their Goods and Lands be escheated and forfeited for his Highness's use. At the hearing of which sentence, he cheerfully said, *The Lord giveth life, and the Lord taketh, blessed be the Name of the Lord.* And as he was carried back through the Guards to the Tolbooth, when the People made lamentation, he answered, *Though men cut us off, God will receive us, trust in God, trust in God.*

Being come to his Chamber he immediatly addressed himself to God by prayer, with great enlargement of heart for himself and his fellow prisoners condemned with him. Being afterwards asked how his leg was, which was tortured; he answered merrily, *the fear of my Neck now maketh me forget my Leg.* There after he said to another friend, *O how good Newes, to be within four dayes journey to enjoy the sight of Jesus Christ, and protested he was not so cumbered how to die, as he had been sometime to preach a Sermon.* To some women lamenting for him, he said, *that his condition, though he was young, and in the budding of his hopes and labours*

labours in the Ministry ; yet it was not to be mourned for ;  
said he one drop of my blood , through the Grace of God ,  
make moe hearts contrite , than many years sermons might  
done.

This afternoon he supplicat the Council for liberty to his Father to come and visit him, which being granted, his Father the next night came to him. Their first meeting was very sad ; and notwithstanding , that according both to the testimony of his Parents , and knowledge of all relations , he was a most obedient Son ; yet these inter-  
table infirmities which are incident to the best of men , cannot but furnish sad convictions , when considered in the power and pure light of the spiritual Law of God , greatly trouble him in the remembrance of the fifth com-  
mandment . The passage was thus . After prayer his Father said unto him , Hugo , I called thee a good olive tree of fair fruit , & now a storm hath destroyed the tree and his fruits and branches . He answered , that his Fathers too good thoughts of him had afflicted him . His Father said , he was perwaded , God was visiting not his own sin , but his parents sin upon him , so that he might say , Our Fathers have sinned , and we have born their iniquity . He said also , I have sinned , thou knowest what hast thou done ? M. Hew answered with many groans , that through coming short of keeping the fifth commandment ; he had come short of the promise , that his days should be prolonged in the Land of the living , & that Gods controversy with him , was for overvaluing his children , especially himself .

On Thursday the 20. of December more from the im-  
portunity of Friends . than of his own inclination , he gave in to the Privy Council , a Petition , as fol-  
lows .

That whereat upon Tuesday last I was indicted and con-  
demned , for the treasonable deeds contained in the general and  
special Indictment exhibited against me ; in the which special  
Indictment , containing my whole accession to the said Crime

there is only libelled presence in several places, with an ordinary sword, like as my own confession, which is the naked truth, doth declare, how the same was occasional; And seeing that it was also in some sort purged and retracted, by my withdrawing and deserting with the first conveniency, whereby not only my case appears to be different from that of others, but also as favourable as possibly can be, next to innocence it self; like as the same appeared no less to many of these Gentlemen, who were upon my Assize. And seeing the Torture I sustained, and the ingenuity I then used, as in the sight of God, to the utmost of my knowledge, deserve that favour that was at that time insinuated; And that it is expected that his Majesty (whose mercy I beg) according to his great clemency, and the most usual practice in the like cases, will interpose his mercy, for the rescue of many, who are equally with me involved. May it therefore please your Lordships graciously to consider the premisses, and to pardon my great rashness and precipitancy, and therefore to indulge such a reproof as your Lo. shall think convenient, until his Majesty's gracious pleasure about the premisses shall be fully known; At least till the Commissioner his Grace, do return; And your Lo. answer. The words marked in this petition by a different character, were the amendments of his Friends affection, which they were advised to put in, by some members of the Privy Council, to whom the copy of it had been presented immediately before the downfitting of the Councill; and thereupon the Petition being transcribed, was in so great haste presented unto him, to rescribe it, that he got it not read. However the Petition was both disrelished and refused by the Council; The truth is, some of his Friends exceeding zealous of his safety, had moved to several members of the Council, that the Declaration might be tendered to him, and some time permitted him to advise thereon; which motion it's like, was attended with some insinuations, that probably he might be induced to subscribe it; but as the motion was ineffectual without a

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warrant under his own hand, so even the Authors thereof do bear him witness of his positive, fixed and often declared resolution, not to subscribe it at the highest rate: Likeas, upon some surmises to the contrary, he thought it necessary for his own vindication, to leave it under his hand, that the above-mentioned resolution was from his own proper knowledge and motive, without the assistance of the least dissuasive from any other person.

During his abode in Prison, the Lord was very graciously present with him, both to sustain him against the fear of death, and to dispel all these over-cloudings of terror, unto which the frailty of flesh and blood hath sometime exposed the best of men; and also in afflicting him in prayer and praises, to the admiration of all his hearers, especially on the Thursday's night Dec. 20 whereon being set at supper with his fellow-prisoners and his Father, and one or two besides, he requested his fellow-prisoners, saying merrily, eat to the full, and cherish your bodies, that we may be a fat Christmas Pie to the Prelats. After supper in thanksgiving, he burst forth in blessing God, that had made him such a fool as to come to the prison; and after many gracious words, continued saying many crosses have come in our way and wrought but weakly upon us; but here is a cross that hath done more good than all the many that beset us before. Then lamenting the condition of the Church of God, with much earnestness, he used the exclamation in the last of Daniel, *W hat Lord shall be shewer of these wonders!*

The last night of his life, being Friday Decemb. 21. proposed and answered himself, several questions, the strengthening of his fellow-prisoners, and great freshing of all his hearers. As I. he enquired; He should I e, going from the Tower through a multitude gazing People and guards of Soldiers, to a Scaffold or Gibbet, overcome the impression of all these? To whi-

he answered; By conceiving a deeper impression of a multitude of Angels, who are also onlookers; According to that, we are a gazing-stock to the World, Angels and Men: For the Angels rejoicing at our good confession are present to convey and carry our souls as the soul of Lazarus, unto Abraham's bosom; Not to receive them, for that is Jesus Christ's work alone, who will welcome them to Heaven Himself, with the songs of Angels and blessed Spirits; But the Angels are ministering Spirits, always ready to serve and strengthen all dying believers. 2. As Stephen saw the Heavens opened, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, Who then said, Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit, so (said he) do I believe, that Jesus Christ is also ready to receive the souls of his dying sufferers.

2. He enquired, What is the way for us to conceive of Heaven who are hastening unto it, seeing the Word saith, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him? Whereunto he answered, that the Scripture helps us two ways to conceive of heaven. The first is by way of similitudes, as in that Rev. 21. where heaven is held forth, by the representation of a glorious City, there described; but in the same place it is also termed the Bride; but O how unlike are these two, a Bride and a City! which doth clearly evidence the insufficiency and vast disproportion of all such similitudes; and therefore he addeth, the Scripture furnisheth yet a more excellent way to conceive of heaven; and that is 1. by conceiving the love of Christ to us, even what is the breadth and length and depth and height and the immenseness of that love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, which is also the highest and sweetest motive of praise unto him, that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us Kings and Priests unto God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen. 2. By holding forth the love of the Saints to Jesus Christ, and teaching us to love him

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in sincerity, which is the very joy and exultation of heaven,  
Rev. 5: 12. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive  
povver, and riches, and vvisdom, and strength, and  
honour, and glory, and blessing. And no other thing than  
the soul breathing forth love to Jesus Christ can rightly appre-  
bend the joyes of heaven.

The last words which he spoke at supper, were in  
the commendation of Love above knowledge, saying, O  
*but notions of Knowledge without Love, are of small worth,*  
*vanishing in nothing, and very dangerous.* After supper,  
his father having given thanks, he read the 16. Psalm, and  
his first words thereafter were, *If there were any thing in*  
*the World sadly and unwillingly to be left, it were the reading*  
*of the Scriptures.* I said I shall not see the Lord, even  
the Lord in the land of the living, *but this needs not*  
*make us sad; for where we go, the Lamb is the book of Scrip-*  
*ture, and the light of that City, and there is life, even the*  
*river of the water of life, and living springs.* To this he  
added many excellent observations, and making men-  
tion of the 23. v. of the 31. Psal. O love the Lord, all  
ye his saints, he added, *that where love was, it was so*  
*operative, that it made flesh, spirit; and where it was not,*  
*there spirit was made flesh:* Thereafter he sung a part of  
the same Psalm.

Supper being ended, he calls smillingly for a pen, say-  
ing, *it was to write his Testament, wherein he only or-*  
dered some few books, which he had to be redelivered  
to several persons.

He went to bed a little after eleven of the clock, and  
having slept well till 5. in the morning, he arose and  
called to his Camerade John Wodrow, saying pleasantly,  
*up John; for you are too long in bed; you and I look*  
*not like men going this day to be hanged: seeing we ly so long.*  
Thereafter he said to him in the words of Isaiah ch. 42.  
v. 24. Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the rob-  
bers? Did not the Lord? He against whom we have  
sin;

sinned, for they would not walk in his wayes, neither were they obedient unto His Law, &c. and I think, John, (said he) I have not known it, nor do I lay it to heart; as it is said in the end of the 25. ver. But, John (saith he) for all this be not affraid, but read the ch 43. v. 1. 2. for all will go well with us. John said to him, you and I will be chambered shortly in heaven, beside Mr Robertson. He answered, I fear, John, you bar me out, because you was more free before the Council than I was; but I shall be as free as any of you upon the Scaffold. Before breakfast, he said, he had got a clear ray of the Majesty of the Lord after his awaking, but it was a little again overclouded. Thereafter he prayed, and attested the Lord, that he had devoted himself to the service of God in the Ministry of the Lord Jesus, and the edification of souls, very early; adding, albeit I have not been so with my God, yet thou hast made with me an Everlasting Covenant, ordered in all things and sure; this is all my desire, joy and salvation, albeit thou make me not a house to grow. Now Lord, we come to thy throne, a place we have not been acquainted with; earthly Kings thrones have Advocats against poor men, but thy Throne hath Iesus, an Advocate for us. Our supplication this day, is not to be free of death, nor of pain in death, but that we may witness before many witnesses, a good confession.

His Father coming to him that morning to bid him farewell, his last words to him were, after prayer and a little discourse, that his suffering would do more hurt to the Prelates, and be more edifying to Gods people than if he were to continue in the Ministry, for twenty years. And than he desired his Father to leave him, else he would but trouble him, and I desire it of you, said he, As the best and last service you can do me, to go to your chamber, and pray earnestly to the Lord to be with me on that Scaffold: for how to carry there is my care, even that I may be strengthened to endure to the end.

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About two of the clock in the Afternoon, he was carried to the Scaffold with other five that suffered with him; where he appeared to the conviction of all that formerly knew him, with a fairer, better and more stayed countenance, than ever they had before observed. Being come to the foot of the Ladder, he directed his speech Northward to the multitude. And, premising, *That as his Years in the World had been but few, so his words at that time should not be many.* He spoke to the People, the speech and Testimony which he had before written and subscribed.

Having done speaking to the People, who heard him with great attention, he sung a part of the 31. Psal. and then prayed with such power and fervency, as forced many to weep bitterly. Having ended he gives his cloak and hat from him; And when he turned himself and took hold of the Ladder to go up, he said with an audible voice, *I care no more to go up this Ladder and over it, than if I were going home to my Fathers house;* And as he went up, hearing a great noise amongst the People, he called down to his fellow sufferers, saying, *Friends and Fellow sufferers, be not affraid, every step of this Ladder is a degree nearer Heaven.* Then having seac'd himself thereon he said, *I do partly believe, that the Nobles, Counsellors, and Rulers of the Land, would have used some mitigation of this punishment, had they not been infligged by the Prelates, so our blood lies principally at the Prelats door.* But this is my comfort now, that I know my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the Earth, and though after my skin, worms destroy this Body, yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom I shall see for myself, and mine Eyes shall behold (pointing to his eyes) and not another, though my reins be consumed in me. And now I do willingly lay down my life for the Truth and Cause of God, the Covenants and Work of Reformation, which were once trampled the Glory of this Nation. And it is for endeavouring

to defend this , and to extirpate that bitter root of Prelacy ,  
that I embrase this rope (the Executioner putting the rope  
about his neck . ) Then hearing the People weep , he  
said , Your work is not to weep , but to pray that we may be  
honourably born through ; and blessed be the Lord , that sup-  
ports me . Now as I have been beholden to the prayers and kind-  
ness of many since my imprisonment and sentence ; So I hope  
you will not be wanting to me now , in this last step of my jour-  
ney , that I may witness a good Confession : And that you may  
know the ground of my encouragement in this Work , and what  
my hope is , I will read to you the last Chapter of the Bible ; And  
having read it , he said , Here you see the Glory that is to be  
revealed upon me , a pure river of water of life , and so forth  
( read the place ) where this Throne of God is , and the Lamb  
is in it , where his Servants serve Him and see His face , and his  
Name is in their foreheads , and the Lord God giveth them  
light , and they shall reign for ever and ever ; and here you see  
my access to my Glory and reward . Let him that is a thirst  
come , and whosoever will let him take of the water of  
life freely . And here you see also my welcome , the Spirit  
and the Bride say , Come . Then he said I have one word  
more to say to my Friends ( looking down to the Scaffold )  
where are you ? You need neither lament me , nor be ashamed of  
me in this condition , for I may make use of that expression of  
Christ , I go to your Father , & my Father to your God and my  
God , to your King & my King , to the blessed Apostles & Mar-  
tyrs , and to the City of the Living God , the heavenly Jeru-  
usalem , to an innumerable company of Angels , to the General  
Assembly and Church of the Firstborn , and to God the judge  
of all , and to the Spirits of just men made perfect , and to Jesus  
the Mediator of the new Covenant ; And so I bid you all fare-  
well : For God will be more comfortable to you than I could be ;  
And he will also now be more refreshing to me , than you can  
be : farewell , farewell in the Lord . Then the Napkin being  
put on his face , he prayed a space within himself , after  
which he putt up the cloth from his face , with his own

hand, and said, he had one word more to say, and that was to shew them the comfort he had in his Death, saying, I hope you perceived no alteration or discouragement in my countenance and carriage, and as it may be your wonder, so I profess it is a wonder to my self, and I will tell you the reason of it: Consider the justness of my Cause, this is my comfort, which was said of Lazarus when he dyed, that the Angels did carry his soul into Abrahams Bosom; so, that as there is a great solemnity here of a confluence of People, a Scaffold, a Gallows, and People looking out at windows; so is there a greater & more solemn preparation in Heaven, of Angels to carry my soul to Christs bosom. Again, this is my comfort, that it is to come in Christs hands, and He will present it blameless and faultless to the Father, and then shall I be ever with the Lord. And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to thee, O Lord! and now I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off Farewell Father and Mother, Friends and Relations; Farewell the World and all Delights, Farewell meat and drink, Farewell Sun, Moon and Stars, Welcome God and Father, Welcome sweet Lord Jesus, the Mediator of the new Covenant Welcome blessed Spirit of Grace and God of all consolation, Welcome Glory, Welcome Eternal Life, Welcome Death. Then he desired the Executioner not to turn him over, untill he should put over his own shoulders himself, which, after praying a little within himself, he did, saying, O Lord! into thy hands I commit my Spirit: For thou hast redeemed my Soul, Lord God of truth. Thus in the 26. Year of his age, he died, as he lived, in the Lord.

F I N I S.

## Some Instances of the Sufferings of Galloway and Nithsdale.

Because in the former *Deduction*, mention is made of a Paper containing some of the Sufferings of Galloway and Nithsdale, it is not inconvenient, for more Particular Information, to subjoyn a few instances of the same Paper.

And first, at three several inroads which the Soldiers have made into that Countrey, in the Years 1663, 1665, and 1666 they exacted from the People there, for adhering to their old faithful Ministers, and not submitting to the Ministry of those, whom the Prelates violently obtruded upon them, the Summes of Money underwritten, viz.

Lib. S. d

From 49 Families in the Parish of Garsphairn,	4864-17-0
From 43 Families in the Parish of Dalrey,	9577-16-8
From 49 Families in Balmaclelland,	6430-10-0
From 9 Families in Balmacghie,	425-11-8
From 2 or 3 Families in Tungland,	166-12-0
From some poor Persons in Tuynham,	. 81-4-0
From 20 Families in Borg,	2026-17-4
From 9 poor Families in Girton,	525-10-4
From some poor Families in Anwith,	733-6-4
From 34 inconsiderable Families in Kirkpatrick Durhams,	2235-16-0
From some few Fam. in Kirkmabrek,	563-6-0
From 3 Families in Monygaff,	600-0-0
From 18 Families in Kircudbright,	2580-0-0
X 5	From

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From 37 poor Families in *Lochbrutton*,  
notwithstanding they wanted a  
Curate,

From 12 poor Families in *Traqair*,

From *Kells* Parish,

From *Corsemichael* Parish,

From 24 Families in *Parton* Parish,

From 42 Families in *Irongray*,

2080-0-0

756-10-0

466-13-4

1666-13-4

2838- 9-4

3362-18-8

Summa 41282-12-0

In the Sheriffdom of *Nithisdale* or  
Dumfreis Shire.

From 51 Families in the Town and Parish of  
*Dumfreis*,

4617-15-4

sou

From 20 poor Families id *Kirkmahoe*,

1341- 6-

and

From 14 Families in *Dunseoir*,

1411-13-4

tion

In *Glencairn* Parish,

2146-14-

*Nithisdale* 9517-9-10

Tuma totalis 51500-2-10

And although these Summs (being Scots money) may seem smal to strangers, yet considering that they are not levyed proportionally from all the People, but some select persons within these bounds, and that there are 19 or 20 Parishes of which there is no account at all, and that the great expense of free quarter by the soldiers, in most of the Parishes abovenamed (which would amount to a great sum) is not included, and that several persons have not as yet payed, but are to pay their Fines and Cess; and that several of the poor people, through fear, at divers times have given bribe in money and other things to Officers & Souldiours, keeping

keeping them free of Cess and Quartering (notwithstanding whereof they were little or nothing the better) and that the Parliament before, arbitrarily, and for no alledged crime, had exacted by their Act of Fining, from 132 Persons within the said bounds, the sum of 77120 Pounds Scots Money; And that the Cess (besides free Quattering (levyed by the Souldiers, according to the Commissioner's Orders, for alleged Deficiency in Payment of the said Fines, extended to neer as much as the Principal, Considering (I say) all these things, the Summs are very considerable, and mnch greater than could have been expected in so little bounds, and in a Countrey so poor and mountainous, and less fertil than many others in the Land,

But the exacting of money was not all, but in effect a small part of their oppression : for the carriage of the souldiers in free quartering was very cruel, barbarous and inhumane, as will appear by these general aggravations and particular instances.

Otdinarily in Quartering, they did not content themselves with sufficiency, but set themselves to consume and waste needlessly ; sometimes throwing whole sheep to their dogs, and scattering corn, hay and straw, they and their boyes usually saying, *we came to destroy, and we shall destroy you.*

Ordinarily when they had consumed the Landlord, they quartered upon the poor Tennants, and when they had consumed the Tennants, did fall upon the Landlords, although they had conformed ; as they did upon a Gentleman in *Kirkmaboe.*

Frequently these who conformed from the beginning, and others who conformed of late, did no less sufferthan these who conformed not at all ; and some in severall Parishes, who had given all the obedience which was demanded, suffered more than these who gave none at all ; yea conforming husbands have been

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Punished by Fine , Cess and quartering for their non-conforming wives.

It is also to be considered , that , besides all that the Countrey had thus suffered , the souldiours were again sent forth through the Countrey , and new Fines , Cess and Quarter were imposed upon the same persons and families who had been fined before ; yea , upon some it was doubled and tripled , so that some Yeomen were fined in 500 merks Scots besides their former fines . All which is the more considerable , that , although the Papists in that Countrey were very numerous , few of them were troubled , and these inconsiderable Persons who were only fined in inconsiderable summs for the fashion .

And particularly in the Parish of *Balmacelland* , a poor widow with several tatherless children , after she had payed at severall times 320 merks , and suffered the Cess of 3 souldiours 17 dayes , coming to the Commander of that Party to complain of some wrongs done unto her , instead of accels , she is mercilessly boasted down stairs .

In the same Parish an old deaf man , after he had payed 52 rex-dallers , and then given bond for 350 pounds Scots , was so tostled , what by being brought before the *High Commission* , and what by rude usage at home that he contracted sicknes and dyed ; and thereafter a poor widow , having payed 120 pounds , was quartered upon many dayes , until she was forced to leave his house , and through cold and double grief contracted a deadly sickness .

In the same Parish a poor man , having been quartered upon and Payed 120 pounds Scots , was himself cast into prison , while 8 souldiers quartered upon him at home . This the same Parish , a Gentleman , who did ordinarily come to Church , was quartered upon by six souldiers , notwithstanding that himself , his Lady and most part of his family were sick .

In the same Parish a poor man being quartered upon 38 daves , and having payed 48 pounds , and given bond for 150 pounds , though as is informed , he hath not so much as a free Cow , when he came to complain , he was beaten by the Officer , and returning , was again beaten by the Souldiours . In the same Parish , a poor bed-rid man with his sick wife were necessitated to beg , until he gathered three pounds to give for his Fine or Cess .

In the same Parish a very poor bed-rid creple man was forced to pay 50 merks .

In the same Parish a very old honest man , who being reckoned past 80 years , and unable to work in his trade being a Coupar , and scarce having the worth of a groat of free goods , but the Countreyes charity , was forced to pay 20 pounds .

In the Parish of *Corsemicall* , the souldiours being quartered in a house , having left some broth of mutton , did violently thrust away the hungry children from supping thereof , till first they set their dogs to leap at them , and then did bid the children take what the dogs had left .

In the Parish of *Parton* , the souldiours , horse & foot , after they had quartered 15 weeks in a Gentleman's house , till they had eaten up the Provision , wherewith he could have maintained his family , having five or six small children , they forced his wife and servants to the doors , after they had been their slaves and servants all that time , & then possessed themselves absolute masters of his whole houses , plenishing , cattell and what else was his within their reach ; and when some good neighbours had received the little ones for shelter , with great difficulty could they obtain one milk Cow of twelve belonging to their Father , for supply of the children . No wonder . This Gentleman seems to be utterly broken , and has been several times imprisoned and miserably tossed up and down .

In the Parish or *Borg*, in a Gentlemans house , the souldiours did quarter for 15 weeks, till they consumed the whole provision of the Family , which was well furnished with meal and malt and other necessaries; they also destroyed the whole denishing (except one table which they left in case they came again) even to the pulling down of the Partition-wall of the main dwelling house, and pulling down of an Office-house without the gate: All this destruction they committed by giving and selling one part within the Countrey , and sending another part to *Glasgow*, and breaking and burning the rest of it , of purpose that it might be useless for the owner, who was forced to flee before , and betake himself to wandering with his brother and their families. And after they had committed all this vastation , they also fell upon their Tennants , and forced them to bring in malt , sheep , fowls , and other things (for their maintenance) that they pleased to call for , and so ruined them also ; And two of his Tennants they forced to scatter their families , having threatened to burn their houses, besides all the destruction they had done to their Master and them before.

In the Parish of *Irongray*, a poor Tenant having bargained with the Souldiours, to redeem his goods for 35 pounds , when he came to *Dumfreis*, they would hardly take 50 pounds , so that he was forced to borrow the over-plus, and being returned home to shear his corns, & expecting no more trouble from them , they came back upon him, and took away his beasts and all , even to the leading away his hay. The like was practised upon other in the same Parish.

And further , some Maintenance imposed in the year 1648 , being alleged unpaid by severall Gentlemen and others within the Sheriffdom of *Nithsdale* , letters of horning were raised by the Collectors ; which letters and executions thereof were suspended , because the

same was already payed, and yet notwithstanding, Troopers were sent to Cess and Quarter upon the said persons, till they should make payment, although the suspension was not discussed; and several of them, to be relieved of the heavy burthen of the Cess and quartering, were constrained to make payment thereof, and that by and attour the Cess for the same, which was far above the said maintenance, in so much that a Gentleman, who at first might have payed for 30 pounds, the Party that went to Cess upon him would not agree to remove for less than 200 merks, Yea after an order was pro-cured from the Commissioner, for removing the Cess for the said Maintenance, a party of 8 or 9 horsmen, with their boyes and horses, were sent once again to quarter upon some Gentlemen, untill they were forced to make a new address to the Commissioner for removal thereof.

By all which, that Countrey was so exhausted of money, that neither poor nor rich cold get it to satisfy these mens demands, and the poor people were forced to sell their beasts in the Markets below their worth; in so much that they were forced to sell a Cow for two Nobles or two Crowns, the souldiours in the mean time standing by to receive the same, although the poor men had destitute families at home: Yea many families whose summs are not here reckoned, in probability are totally ruined, and many others scattered, and particularly in *Lochriston* were above 16 families broken, in *Irongray* the most part of the families are broken, beside several that are already put from house keeping, the souldiours having taken away, both there and elsewhere, that which the People should have lived upon; yea several Gentlemen, formerly in good condition, were put from house-keeping, and forced to wander, and be beholden to others for a nights lodging, the souldiers having violently possessed themselves of their barns, cattel and other goods.

Neither

Neither is this all, the wickedness, prophanity and blasphemies of the souldiours, are rather to be abhorred and supprest than thought or spoken of, if the notoriety thereof were not universal in these bounds.

In the Parish of *Carphairn*, in an Inn at the Bridge of *Deugh*, on the Sabbathday, some of them being quartered there, they most prophaneley and atheistically mocked at all preaching of the Gospel, saing, *let us go preach*, and then read their text out of the *Cherry and the Slae* (an old Scotch Amorous Poem) counterfeiting a form of divine worship, and as it is informed did sing an other part of the same Poem in stead of the Psalms, and used all other mocking modes, as if they had been serious Gods worship.

In the Parish of *Irongray*, an honest man retiring himself to the fields for secret prayer (having no liberty at home) was followed by the Souldiours, who drew swords upon him threatening to kill him, if they heard him praying any more, saying, *Sir, we have heard you many times howling, if we hear you again &c.*

Another time in that same Parish, the Master of the house was exhorting them to leave off their swearing & prophanity, shewing them the danger and hazard they were in of the condemnation of Hell, some of the souldiours mocking at hell most blasphemously answered. *By my soul ere I go to hell, it shall cost God 24 hours pains to be get me there.*

In the Town of *Kircudbright*, when one *Captain Fin* an horseman died, one of his Camerads coming to see him, and finding him dead, came near and rudely gripping the dead man, used this horrid expression, what devil art thou dead man? And did not tell me before, that I might have sent a letter to hell with thee (to such a camerade of his as he named, who had died lately before) to take up my winter quarters.

In the same Town also, as is informed, some of them con-

conveening at the Crofs, and drinking there healths, one of them personating . . . (Who dare express whom) used this blasphemous expression to his Camerads, *Ye are my Angels, and I drink to you all.* But we abhorre to mention any more of this sort: only this is certain, that Atheism and Blasphemy is become so ordinary with them, that some of themselves are forced to regrate it.

In the Parish of *Carspairn*, some of the foot souldiours did so barbarously and cruelly struggle with a man's wife to have forced her (till she was rescued out of their hands by some women) that she for fear parted with child, and kept her bed half a year, being neer unto death, and little hope of recovery.

Also in a Gentleman's house in the same Parish, where they were quartered, they cruelly beat some of the servants to the effusion of their blood, for all the good service they had done them.

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### POSTSCRIPT.

BY these things, which have been done in *Galloway* and *Nithisdale*, as the Reader may compute, what vast sufferings and horrid combinations must be in the whole Land, many places whereof are no less disaffected to Prelacy, when there are so many and gross, in so little bounds and so short time; so he may perceive, what provocation that poor oppressed people had to endeavour their own preservation, and to take hold of any opportunity for vindicating their religious and civil Interests: and what reasons others, either in the same condition with them, or upon the common

Y ground

ground of Non-conformity , being threatened  
and justly fearing to be shortly reduced thereunto , had , according to their obligation in the Covenant , for mutual defence and assistance in the Covenant , for mutual defence and assistance in the common cause of Religion and Liberty , to joyn with them for their help . Neither should I have adventured to insert these instances if (besides the diligent care that was used in collecting of them , making them credible ; the notoriety thereof , whereby they were unquestioned in that part of the Countrey ; and many such like things (whereunto all that is mentioned , is but like a preface ) committed since Novemb. 1666 , especially in the Western parts , rendering them probable , they were not the native product of this Prelatical course , betwixt which and them there is such connexion , as is betwixt the natural cause and the effect , and if the committers thereof had not had command , example and encouragement for many of them from the Prelats , whom they resemble as much as face answereth to face in water . It is true the Prelats should no more bear all the blame , then Sathan (who restraineth none but it other tempteth to all) should be charged with all the sins of man , and they were and are first and chief in the diabolical transgression , who were their Authors and are their upholders and abettors , and in retaliation of the fearfulness in all , and in subserviency to their interest the flattery of the Powers and connivance at prophet many ness in all , and in subserviency to their interest divine

and designe, have perpetrated and permitted so much wickedness and oppression ; Ye the Peoples walking willingly after the commandement , will never Excuse those , who by Law , Force and Example make Israel to Sin : yet it is above contradiction , that Prelacy is the chieftough not the only Interest , in subservency to which all these thingsare done ; and the Prelats themselves are a conjunct if not the Principal cause thereof. These men having put off their former vizards , no man needeth further to unmask them. Let these who employed and maintained *Sharp* to agent their cause , and others who promoted him to the Prelacy , declare their own Experience , of his continued series of ungrate deceiving and undermining of them and their Interests , under Trust and professions to the contrary , as all men know that he hath Impiously and Perfidiously betrayed the Church and Cause of God : if they will not , Let his own many letters written unto them , be produced , as in reason and for Vindication they should , and they will evince him to be the Archest Traitor that ever *Scotland* bred : And how can it otherwise be ? will he who is false to God , be true to any man ? If that man escape some stupendious and disgracefull remark by the hand of God or Man, I will not say , that Others need neither fear the One nor regard the other, but sure I am; that many more Experienced in the observation of divine Providence, and foreseeing than I am , are

much mistaken. Let the City of *Glasgow*, and persons of all Qualities, especially in that countrey-side, ingenuously say, whether that fiery Zelot for the height of *English Hierarchy* and Ceremonies, and otherwise insignificant man, *Master Burnet Prelate* there, doth not, in Just recompence of too many their enslaving their own light and conscience, in flattery of him, and complying with that course, most insolently domineer over them as his slaves, with as much Pride, Ambition, and Contempt, as the most absolute Prince doth over his vassals. Let these ot the Synod of *Glasgow* remember, with what deep dissimulation *Mr Hamilton Prelat of Galloway*, did by Express suffrage declare, before the last Synod there, against the same Prelacy, which at that same instant of time, he was clandestinely corresponding with the Rulers to establish. This man of all others, hath been the chief Cause of all the Oppression and persecution in that countrey, and thereby the Occasion of the late rising in Armes, and blood that hath followed thereupon. One instance of *Mr Honeyman Prelate of Orkney* I cannot omit, that in the year 1661, when *Mr Sharp* had discovered himself, walking in his own garden, he said to a famous person who can bear witness thereof, (Just as *Balaam* spake truth whether he would or not) That *Mr Sharp* ~~was as false as~~ *Iudas*, and I would gladly know, to whom this Casuist, who since hath embraced a Bishoprick,

rick, will Compare himself for falsehood, except to him who entered into *Iudas* with the sop. I need tell no man who knoweth the Persons, of the brutish Sensuality of *Mr Wallace P.* of the *Isles*, who studieth more the filling of his belly than he was ever fit for feeding of a flock; nor of the hatred of Godliness & good men in *Mr Gutbrey P.* of *Dunkel* who while he was Minister at *Sterlin*; was an old persecuter of both; nor the scandalous drinking of *Mr Stranghan P.* of *Brechen*, let those who visite him in his own house, declare how liberally he useth to entertain them with Wine there, upon their own Expence. It is true indeed, that *Mr Lighton* prelate of *Dumblan*, under a Jesuitical-like vizard of Pretended Holiness, humility, and crucifixion to the world, hath studied to seem to creep upon the ground, but alwayes up the hill, toward promotion and places of more ease, honour and Wealth; and as there is none of them all hath with a Kiss so betrayed the Cause, and smitten Religion under the fifth rib, and hath been such an offence to the godly, so there is none who by his way, practice and Expressions, giveth greater suspicion of a popish affection, inclination and design. If these men had not put off their own vaile, no pencil of the most skilled Artist could have drawn them to the life but now by shewing of themselves, they have saved others a labour, or at least made it more easy. And therefore I shall rake no more into this unpleasant dung-hil of the vilest

vices , which they and their Brethren in Iniquity (whom not naming here doth not Except from their part of the charge of Ambition, Pride, Sensuality, Idleness, Covetousness, Oppression , Persecution Dissimulation, Pejury Treachery, and Hatred of Godliness and Good men), have heaped together in their own Persons, and transfused to others over all the Land. O the immense long suffering and unsearchable Wisedome of God ! who, hearing the cry of these things , stirreth not the Zeal of all to Execute his just Judgment upon these men ; but it may be , that he is ripening and reserving them for a more God-like stroke . than any would be acknowledged to be , wherein man were Instrumental. Neither are their Mercenaries , whom they hire as Postillions to ride upon the fore-house of all their Wickedness , less skilled , but more forward that way than their drivers. It were as far above the faith of any , who have not heard and seen , to beleeve , and might render any pen suspected of the want of truth or tendernels , to write the Hundreth part , as it is easy to instance incredibly much , but endles to relate all that is true of the Ignorance , Lightness and Prophaness of these men. When I have told , that several lying in known and acknowledg'd fornication , without removall of the scandal , have been admitted to the Ministry by the Prelats who knew it , and violently obtruded by them and the Patrons upon the offended people . That some of them after Admission , have been de-

deprehended lying with women by the way-side ; that Others have been found guilty of Actuall fornication , and of unanswerable presumptions of Adultery with other mens wives ; and that drunkenness is both open and frequent amongst many of them , I may well awake the wonder, the blush and horrour of the Reader ; but I have only begun to shew a part (and indeed a very small part) of these mens wayes. A Prophet he may be by way of prognostication but let the world Judge of what manner Preacher he must be , who, offending that the people did not come to hear him, did before the Congregation Imprecate thus against himself , *God nor I be hanged but I shall make you all come.* Another refused to pay the price of a horse before he pleased (which he used to boast privately would be at Doomsday) because the seller , at the making of the bargan , in Civility said , *Pay me vwhen ye please* ; and thereupon . to the scorn and derision of all , sustained an action of Law some dayes before a Civill Court. Who will commerce with such horse-koopers ? but much less who can acknowledge such men for Ministers ? These men, being themselves generally without substance and forme of Religion , are such malicious persecuters of both in Others , that as I could never hear of one soul turned from Satan to God by their labours (whereof indeed there are many prophane seals) so they are become vile in the eyes of all , that are truely godly, or but

morally civil; In so much that this is the only advantage, (and indeed it is an advantage, for if they were more smooth and sober, they might be more insnaring) that they do not wear a rough garment to deceive; and though I cannot say, that their out side is as unclean as their inner-side, yet it is saith as such in every mans heart, that *the fear of God is not before their eyes.* These are the pleasant birds, that are hatched and cherished under the warm wings of Prelacy, of whom though no man can speak the half of the truth to a stranger, without exposing himself to the Censure of partiality, Passion, or being a Reproacher; yet the Universal & incontroverted Notoriety of these things, in places where they reside or converse will absolve the Relater before all men who know them. It is true we do not charge every individual with every particular, yet because they are generally true of Many, and being notourly known and sometimes represented are not remedied, they are chargeable upon the Course; which being Sinful it self, the Authors and Abettors thereof are participant of the guilt, and liable to the punishment. And indeed the Lord hath already begun his controversy with some of them not only by pouring shame and contempt upon them (particularly upon Traiterous Sharp) and drying up the Right eye, and blasting the gifts which several seemed to have (whether by their own negligence, which every man observeth, or immediat judgment, or both, I do not deter-

determine, but also by visible cursing of their substance, diverse of them being necessitated through poverty to sell their tithes at half worth, long before they are payable, and others of them to remove, leaving more debt behind, than they are able to discharge. Neither have these men thus profaned the sanctuary only, and by the sins of the Sons of *Ely* made all men to abhorre the offering of the Lord; but from them are issued forth, such overflowing streames of wickedness over all the Land, that, besids all that is mentioned, there are other inconceivable and inexpressible Atheistical abominations said to be committed by men, which, as it is a Wonder the Devil himself should dare to act, so for fear of the great and dreadful God, & of offending the ears of others, my heart trembleth to think, and my hand faileth to writ. O Lord forgive, that ever another speaking, but much more Acting, should have occasioned my Thinking thereof.

And yet, as it all that is related were too little, for sanctuary to themselves, for further i slaving of the Countrey, and venting of insatiable revenge (cursed be their anger for it is fierce, and their wrath for it is cruel) they have procured two Proclamations, dated at *Edinburgh March*, 25. 1667. making mention of great evidence of many disaffected Persons in the Western Shires who are ready to break out in open Rebellion, and involve the Kingdom in blood; and of just reason of suspition that *these*

these Rebels will rise in Armes against the King and his Authority, and not only make use of the Armes, Powder & Ammunition concealed or transported from Enemies, but seise upon the Armes of others, and invade the Ministers of the Gospel &c: And therefore for preventing and disabling of them to put themselves in Military posture, to make sudden marches or attempts upon other Subjects, or the standing Forces, or to joine with other persons of Pernicious and disloyal principals, &c. commanding all persons within the Shires of Lanrik, Air, Renfrew, Wigton & Stewarty of Kircudbright, who have refused or deserted publick trust, vvhoe vvitdravv from publick Ordinances, and keep not their Parish Church, or do not submit to the present Government of the Churc, and all who being warned did not joine in suppress the late Rebellion, unless they take the Oath of Allegiance, and subscribe the Declaration, the after the 15 day of May next, by themselves or any other for their behoof, they do not keep any horse above the value of an hundred merks; and in case of failzie, that the Sherif value and deliver such horse to the Informer without payment to be made therfore before the first of May, to deliver to their respective Sherifs all their Armes and Ammunition (allowing Gentlemen only swords) under the pain of fining each Gentleman in 2000. merks, and each other person 500 merks, whereof the one half to the Informer and commanding all Heritors and Parishioners to defend the persons, families, and goods of their

Ministers, from all affronts and injuries, with certification that the sufferers & not opposers of the same, shall be reputed art and part, & be proceeded against with all rigour as guilty thereof; and in case of surprisal, that they pursue, apprehend and present the committers befor the Council, otherwise to be liable to reparations of damage, &c. What new and strange Policy is there here, that the Narrative of both Proclamations, in stead of concealing in the time of declared and continued War with Forrainers, should proclaime that there are so many disaffected persons, who are ready to rise in Armes, to seise upon the Armes of others, and weaken the Forces of the Kingdom, thereby expressing the sence of their own deservings, and the tears of an evil conscience, discovering their own nakedness to enemies, and encouraging Forrainers to invade with the more confidence? Must these Shires, which, without derogation to others, do eminentlly flourish with men of Piety towards God and true Loyalty, and during the Kings Exile, did retain a more faithful remembrance of his Interest according to the Covenant, than many other places of the Kingdom, be of all other Shires within the same, in recompense thereof, rewarded with the Titles of disaffected persons, Rebels, men of pernicious & cistoyal principles, and spoiled of their goods? Whence should these, who being spoiled of all Armes, first by the English, and then by the Council since the Kings return, be presumed to have concealed

cealed Armes ! What ground is there to suggest unto the World, the transportation of Armes from Enemies ? Must every man who will not throw away for nothing his Horse & Armes, which he hath purchased by his money , be therefore *a sedition* *and disaffected person* , and accordingly proceeded against with all rigour ? If none within these Shires must keep a horse exceeding the value above mentioned , how impossible is it to labour much of the ground ? How are covetous wretches , in hope of gaining horse without Payment , and the half of the Fines for concealed Armes, animated, to give in invidious Informations against the owners ? and many poor well meaning people tempted to redeem their beasts at the rate of Perjury and breach of Covenant ? What an absurd thing is it, to punish men otherwise innocent , only for not accepting or deserting publick trust , whereunto they neither have access , nor can continue in, without formal and express Perjury ? How irrational and unjust is it, to command ( under a penalty ) Parishioners to do that which may be impossible , yea without the compass of their knowledge , such as opposing, but much more apprehending and presenting surprizers ? Wherewith, I pray you , shall these who must deliver up all their Armes ( reserving not so much as a sword ) defend themselves or any other man , against violence and surprizal ? We read in our History of a Law , whereby for repressing of Theft , men were not to shut their doors in the night,

ight, and satisfaction was ensured to the owner for  
any thing that should be stolen from him; where-  
upon a Countrey man alleaging his goods to be  
stolen, obtained payment; but being found there-  
after that himself had hid them, he was hanged  
for a reward to himself and example to others;  
what if some of these covetous and malicious  
for who can ration?"  
at they who'

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offalt for their Apostacy: O Backslidden Scotland  
remember from whence thou art fallen, Repent &  
and Do thy First works, or else he will come unto  
thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out  
of his place, except thou Repent.

F I N & I S.

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L. Otto

# NAPHTALI

OR  
The Wrestlings of the  
**CHURCH OF SCOTLAND**  
FOR THE  
**KINGDOM of CHRIST;**

*Contained in*

A true and short Deduction thereof, from  
the beginning of the Reformation of the Reli-  
gion, until the Year 1667.

*Together with*

The last Speeches and Testimonies of some, who  
have died for the Truth since the Year 1660.

*Whereunto are also subjoined*

A Relation of the Sufferings and Death of  
**MR H E W M C K A I L**, and some Instances of  
the Sufferings of *Galway* and *Nithsdale*.

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AM. 1: 12. *Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me, in the day of his fierce anger.*

MIC. 7: 8. *Rejoice not against me, O mine Enemy: When I fall, I shall arise; When I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a Light unto me.*

SAI. 14: 32. *What shall one then answer the Messengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his People shall inherit it.*



Printed in the Year cL. lC. lxxx.

## AD LECTOREM.

**N**On hic Herculeæ sunt cum sudore palestræ;  
Nullus Olympiaco in pulvere Ludus iners;  
Pro sudore crux Christi de Corpore manat;  
Ardua pro ludo est lucta, rapina, neces.  
Scotica bis denis luctata Ecclesia Lustris;  
Penè dedit vietas, lassa labore, manus.  
Duros passa Patres dudum, velut ante Novercas,  
Vi premitur; Stygia fraude subacta gemit.  
Constitit effrænes contratumidaque procellas;  
Proque Fide steterat, dum stetit ulla fides.  
Nusquam cana fides nunc est, jurataque Cœli  
Numina, mortales, vinc'la nec ulla ligant.  
Credula dum nimis est, fida hæc Ecclesia; vanâ  
Spe lusa, & rupto Fædere stratajacet:  
Strata tamen non tota jacet, de pulvere surgit,  
Auricomum tollet mox supra astræ caput.  
Ipsa triumphalem currum Crux sæva ministrat;  
Sanctorum sanguis fertile semen erit.  
Ecce! Sacerdotum turmam Regumque Coronam  
Pendentem infami de trabe, Lector, habes.  
Cerne oculo, Heroum facies & corpora cernas,  
Verba audi, & videoas pectora plena Deo,  
Hic loquitur Princeps, magnocum Judice, Vates;  
Et Juvenes, Vatum spes animosa senum.  
Hic Generosa cohors, Miles, Mercator, agelli  
Cultor, & Arte rudit, spirat ab ore Deum.  
Disce immortalem hinc Animam, vitamque futuram,  
Nulla est, pro Christo, mors male grata pio.  
Pro Christi Crux, est, diadematæ Laurea; restis,  
Fædere pro Sancto, est vita, monile, decus.

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CLASS OF 1915

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## R E A D E R.



HE LORD in great mercy , having wonderfully and with an outstretched arm, notwithstanding all the opposition of Sathan & earthly Principalities, redeemed Scotland from the Power and darkness , first of *Gentilism*, and then of *Anti-christianism*, by raising of some burning and shining Lights , and other Instruments fitted for that Work ; Whereby the Light of the Glorious Gospel , from a very smal beginning , did increase more & more, until at length, shining with brightness & heat, as the Sun his strength , it filled the Land with knowledge , in much that the name thereof became *Jehovah Shammah*, *The Lord is there* : And having built to Himself a house upon the foundation of the Prophers and Apostles , not only sufficiently instructed with righteous Laws & Judgments for Doctrine & Worship ; But also provided with Ordinary Officers necessary in the Christian Church , and with a form of Church-Government , of his own Institution , distinct from , and without any prejudice unto the Civil Government of the Kingdom , Whereby the Church of Scotland , for Soundness of Faith , Purity of

*to the Reader.*

Worship , Excellency of Government , Freedom and Power of the Gospel , beautiful Order & Unity , was no inferior to any , if not preferable to most of the Reformed Churches , and therefore was deservedly famous & esteemed amongst them : Having also , for an hundred Years , from it's first National Establishment , preserved the same from utter overthrow , notwithstanding the many various and renewed endeavours of men , by force and fraud , to reduce it unto the same Errors , Ignorance and Superstitions , wherein it self at first lay buried , and under which others groaned ; And several times reviv'd and restored it , when by it's own Impurity , Indifferency and Formality it began to decline , or by the Treachery , Subtilty , or Violence of others it was oppressed thereby not only disappointing , confounding , and many times ruining the Adversaries , and comforting and strengthening the faithful ; But also always rebuilding <sup>the</sup> His <sup>own</sup> Temple , the glory whereof did far excel and darken the glory of the former : And having many time engaged the whole Land to Himself , by several most solemn Obligations , of voluntary Surrender and Resignation , by frequently renewed Oaths and Covenants ; So Adu that within these few Years past , there were not many persons of age , of what ever degree , and not so much as one Preaching Minister in all the Land , who not only did not make publick profession of the true Reformed Religion <sup>and</sup> but also subject themselves unto the Presbyterial Forme . I , Church Government and Discipline , and who did not <sup>again</sup> ( which we desire to be noted ) for that effect in their own persons swear and subscribe with the hand unto the Lord <sup>Daug</sup> in the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant ; In so much , that as to the publick Profession <sup>creac</sup> the Truth , and almost as to the number of persons , the <sup>for life</sup> Church of Scotland was of equal extent with the Nation <sup>or the</sup> and in that respect , of all other National Churches , done <sup>the</sup> most resemble the old Church of the Jewes : The Lord , <sup>cme</sup>

say, having to the conviction and acknowledgement of our selves and others, done such great things for us; whereof we are glad, the present Apostacy, whereby Scotland's Bethel is come Be baven, and the Land that was sometimes Holiness unto the Lord is become (alas! too Edom like) the border of wickedness, and an Acedama, a Tragical Theatre of blood and persecution, ought to be unto us no less matter of Sorrow, Shame and Fear, than it is Sin in it self, and Wonder and Amazement unto others. Who can hear our Covenanted and Kindest Lord, who liveth putting away, and defieth us to shew the bill of our Mothers divorce, who groaneth under our Backslidings, being pressed therewith as a cart ful of sheaves, complaining that He is broken with our whorish hearts, and therefore declaring that He will be no more our Husband, nor we His Wife, and that His heart cannot be toward us; But that He will drive us out of His house, and love us no more, and not cover the lip for Shame? And in consequence thereof, who can behold the Fathers house, not only defiled, by sojourning it into an house of Marchandise & den of theeves, gn about the Temple cast down to the ground, and the Adversary in the mid thereof insultingly and scornfully set up their ensignes for signes of Triumph; & further, behold the blood of Saints shed like water, and their noulsh given to be meat to the fowles of the heaven and beasts of the Earth, & not lament with Jeremiah? Cap.9. v. 1, 2, 3. Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the Daughter of my People. Oh that I had in the Wilderness a Lodging place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my People and go from them: For they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men. And thy bend their tongue like their bow, that lies: But they are not valiant for the Truth upon the Earth, for they proceed from evil to evil, and they know not me, saith the Lord. And this will the more appear, not only if we remember the general nature of Backsliding, which is a

very comprehensive Sin, importing less Love; Fear and Trust in the true God, and proclaiming more Inconstancy Unfaithfulness, and ingratitude towards him, than sometimes is found in very heathens towards their Idols; But also if we consider that our present Defection hath all circumstantial Aggravations in the highest degree. For it is not in things only Civil, Indifferent, or of little moment. But in things Religious, Necessary, Important, & which at least in their tendency & consequence reach to the very foundation: It is not the effect of common, humane and invincible infirmity; but most free & voluntary, yea wilful and deliberate: It is not done by stealth, or in a corner; but avowedly & openly in the sight of the Sun: It is not Private and Personal; but Representative & Authorized, by the Acts & Proclamations of King, Parliament and Council: It is not smoothly & subtilly, but most tyrannically carried on by military violence and cruelty: It is not of a few or incon siderable Persons, but very Universal: The greatest part of all Ranks, and of some Ranks almost the whole, being some one way or other involved therein: It is not only of these, who were always of known and professed disaffection to the Cause and Covenant of God; but also of many, who sometimes being exceeding zealous themselves, and exemplary and forcible upstirrers of others therein, are now become the chief Ringleader thereof, and most bloody Persecutors of those who remain stedfast in the Truth: It is not in an Heathenish Antichristian Land, or Church divided and broken into several Sects, as some others are; but even in Scotland so clearly enlightened, for which the Lord had wrought so many wonderful works, which was under so many obligations of Oaths and Covenants to the contrary, and former had been so united in the profession of the Truth: It is King not from violent force, Inevitable necessity or irresistible temptation (which is neither possible, nor yet would excuse it) but when the Lord, by breaking the yoke of bondage

## To the Reader.

forrain Usurpation , had given King and Countrey the fairest opportunity which they ever had, to restore , confirm and advance His work ; as if He had delivered us , that we might work all these Abominations : And all this for no other end , than the base flattering of the Kings humor and inclination , satiating of Prelatical Pride and Ambition , the indulging of the licentious profanity of some Debauched and degenerated Nobles and others , who could not endure the yoke of Christ's sound doctrine and impartial discipline , And the suppression of Religion and Righteousness in the subversion of the late work of Reformation : Whereby we have charged our selves with all the blood that hath been shed upon either side, during the former wars ; Have laid a stumbling block before all, who shal see or hear of it, to blasphem Religion as a false pretence for Rebellion and Self - Interest , and to affirm that there is neither truth nor ingenuity in the Professors thereof . Pass over the Isles of Chittim , and see if there be such a thing ; hath a Nation changed their Gods , which yet are no Gods ? But Scotland , Ah Scotland ! hath changed her glory for that which doth not profit . Be astonished , O ye heavens at this , and be horribly afraid : And so much the rather , because few Lands did ever make Defection after this manner , but , as upon the one hand , the Lord gave them up unto more Backsliding , until they abounded more with Atheism and all manner of abominations , than some Pagan-Nations , who never heard nor made Profession of the Gospel ; So upon the other hand , He alwayes pursued them with sorest plagues , not only of subjugation at home , scattering and exile abroad , dividing of Kingdomes amongst themselves , and from their former Rulers , and final subversion of whole Empires , It is Kingdomes and Common wealths ; But also many times with the final removal of the Gospel , and utter dissolution of all visible National Covenant-relation , as might be demonstrated from Holy Scripture , and other Histories :

ries. And indeed, if He, to whom nothing is strange, or impossible (though they may seem both to us) and whose wayes and thoughts are as far above ours, as the Heavens are above the Earth, do not in the Sovereignty of His Grace, recede from His ordinary method of dealing with such apostatizing People, and now when he hath seen our way do not heal us, we have, alas ! not too too just ground of fear, that we shall become such a proverb amongst the Nations, that the generation to come of our Children, & the stranger that cometh from a far Land, when they see the plagues of this Land, shall wonder and ask, *Wherfore hath the Lord done this unto thy Land? What meaneth the heat of this great anger?* Oh ! that in the very first, and next following steps of Defection, together with the Causes of the Lord's wrath against the Land, were remembred and acknowledged, and that all and who have had any accession to the kindling of this flame upon (and who can wholly Justify himself ? If any would, before his own mouth should condemn him) would draw thin water and pour it out before the Lord, for quenching thereof, and that the first resilers from our Nation their Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to duties. How would glorify God by Confession, that he might turn from the fierceness of his Anger ; But alas ! He hath at once that poured out upon us the Spirit of Whoredome and of a dead sleep ! and hath both made us to err from His way, and by hardned our hearts from his fear. And as we should the look behind us to the Rise, so before us to the Reelift of these things ; for though every runner may read the *Primum mobile* of this course, the great axletree and gross wheels upon which all moveth, and who are the furious drivers and slavish drawers thereof, and we have both seen the several degrees of Motion & advancement, and smarted the sad effects of the same, yet I am afrai'd of persons that there is now another spirit in Persons & Tendency in Affairs than some men apprehend. Whether there be a sufficient

ngelical ground in the Holy Scriptures to think with some, and that before the last fall of the Roman Antichrist, the Popish Religion shall once more overshadow the Christian World, is not proper here to enquire; But considering the great affinity betwixt Papacy and Prelacy, and the already authorized & practized Conformity of the one to the other, has not only in Government & Discipline, whereby they have, for the most part, the same Ecclesiastical Courts and Officers; But also in Worship, whereby they have the same Liturgy, for substance of Epistles, Gospels, Collects and Letany; The same Ceremonies of Rising, Standing to the East, Bowing, Kneeling, Crofing, &c. the same superstitious & fool-like Vestments; the same observation of many dayes, the same adorning of Churches & Chappels, with the Altars, Books, Candles, Candlesticks, Basins, Images, Crucifixes on windows, and the same Jesuitical signs upon their pulpit cloth; And also in several points of Doctrine, preached, licensed and printed, with many other raw things tedious to be enumerated: Considering also the constitution of Kingdoms, which by Ignorance, A-onatheisme, disputing and oppugning of the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, Error, Superstition, Profaneness, Indifference, Formality and Hypocrisy in many, are much more disposed than formerly disposed to embrace whatsoever shall be authorized or indulged: And considering the native tendency of the present Course of Backsliding, which leadeth unto the great Whore, the mother of all these abominations, nothing but gross, wilfull or judicial Ignorance, and estrangement from affairs, can deny that there is too just a ground of fear, that ere long (if the Lord do not prevent it) Brittan may be again precipitated into the old gulf of Antichristianism. And so much the rather, because it is universally observed & notoriously known, that the number of professed Papists, hath increased more within these six Years, than it had for near sixty before; the conviction whereof made some of the Prelates themselves say some Years

Years hence, that since the Year 1660. there were more than  
thousands of avowed Papists in Scotland (compute the number  
what may and must be in England and Ireland) than before  
that Year there were hundreds. Whence this is, & whether  
there be any positive Resolution to reintroduce Popery in these Lands, I do not affirm, but remit it to the con-  
sideration of the impartial Reader who understandeth the  
times, & to Time it self, a great searcher & discoverer of se-  
crets, to declare the genuine meaning & tendency of these  
things, That the King should publish in print, that the  
Papists had been faithful Subjects to him and his Father, for  
whilst others under pretence of Religion had involved  
the Kingdoms in blood; Was that bloody Massacre in  
Ireland, whereof they were the known & acknowledge  
Actors, though perhaps not the only Authors, such  
Faithful service? That the execution of penal Statutes  
against Papists should be superseded, whilst severe pen-  
Statutes are dayly enacted and executed against Pro-  
testants, really, though not under that name and notion?  
That so many known and open Idolatrous Masses shoul-  
be connived at and tolerated, whilst both publick and  
private meetings of Protestants for pure Worship are pro-  
hibited by Law, and violently interrupted: That so ma-  
ny known professed Papists, Priests and Jesuites, who  
do not publickly countenance the Prelatical Worship  
are permitted to live peaceably and enjoy all their Libe-  
ties, whilst non complying Protestants, for simple Non-  
conformity to Prelacy, are imprisoned, fined, confined  
scourged, stigmatized, and many otherwayes oppressed  
& persecuted, in their Estates, Consciences & Names. cry  
That so many Papists especially in England should enjoy  
and be dayly advanced to the greatest places of publie  
Power and Trust, not only as members of Parliament  
Council, and Court, but as State Officers, Lieutenants  
Sherifts, Justices of Counties, and Officers in Army  
whilst steadfast Protestants, for simple non-perjuring, ar-  
some

more some of them not so much as permitted to sit in Parliament, or any other Judicatory; others of them discomfited, disgraced, disarmed, imprisoned and proscribed, where and all of them who will not forswear, declared incapable of publick Power or Trust in Church or Commonwealth: That a house for Fathers or Friars is provided; whilst many faithful Ministers are removed and chased off from place to place, without any certain habitation: That there should be such universal Report, and so much Presumption of a Popish hand in burning of *London*, which, for number and strength of Protestant Inhabitants, was above the most considerable City in the World, and bulwark against the Romish Religion and designes, and yet, as if men were afraid to try the truth in that matter, so such little satisfying and effectual course taken, to try and punish the Authors and Actors, and to repress their many other insolent misdemeanors; whilst many thousands of innocent Protestants, who never burnt either house or City, for no other alleged crime but their peaceable forbearance to bow to the Idol which the King hath set up, are thrown into a furnace of fiery Trial, seven times more heated than ever was known in the Christian World for such a Cause, all things being considered.

It may seem strange to the Nations about, and to the Generations following, that the Church of *Scotland* which had been so faithful and chaste, should have suffered herself to be thus prostituted, and that (if she would not otherwayes, after the manner of her Fathers, confess for the Faith which she had received) she did not cry to all the World by Declarations and Protestations (as the Maid under the Law) that she was forced; And that of all the sons which she had brought forth, there were so few, either to take her by the hand, and plead openly for her, or to plead with her, that she would put away her whoredoms. This indeed is, and ought to be an lamentation: But let none therefore conclude (as

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some of the profane and perfidious Prelates ; measuring others after their own baseness & treachery, had the impudence at first to misrepresent to the Rulers ) that all were, or are consentient unto this horrid Apostacy ; for even at the beginning thereof, if Synods ( which were then resolving to bear publick Witness for the then established Government of the Church , and against the begun Defection , and further progress thereof by the introduction of Prelacy, which was then designed ) had not been , some of them , by Proclamation prohibited to conveen , and others of them violently interrupted and raised by Nobles , who , by Order of Parliament were present for that effect ; And if some of her Watchmen ( who were neither professedly driving on , nor secretly breathing after Prelacy and Prelatical promotion had not for Reasons best known to themselves, too much courted and flattered the Powers by their own silence and withdrawing of their necessary and required concurrence in a publick joint Testimony , there wanted no Faithfulness , Zeal , Courage , Resolutions and some Endeavours in others to have emitted such Declarations as probably might have crushed the bold attempt of the Prelates in it's infancy , & thereby have prevented much after Sin and Suffering which hath ensued thereupon , & certainly would have winnesed to all the World , that the Church without and against her consent was treacherously betrayed & violently forced . Neither hath the Truth all along from that time till this , wanted many testimonies , though none of them were so National , Universal , Authoritative & Solemn as they should have been ; And Cau few of them ( perhaps ) so explicite , full , plain and bold , as the weight of the matter and other circumstances required : Yea , the continued fears of the Adversaries expressed in the Narratives of several of their own Acts and Proclamations , and their levying of Military Force , for upholding of them and their Cause ; The Non son com-

uring complyance of many thousands , their secret and open  
complaints and moans because of it , & their daily pray-  
it alters to God against it , bear witness against this present  
Course . Besides , it is very observable , that some ,  
who had been chief Authors & Active Promoters there-  
of and Complyers with the same , and others , who had  
been intimate familiars and favourers of Prelats and their  
Re Vice Curats , in Sickness and at Death did so much ab-  
horre their way and loath their Persons , that they would  
not admit their presence , but called for Non-conform-  
ing Ministers to speak to them and pray for them ; Yea  
some Gentlemen upon Death bed , did with much sor-  
row bemoan their own concurrence , and particularly  
their taking of the Declaration against the Covenant , &  
seriously warned and exhorted their old Familiars & com-  
panions in that guilt to repent thereof , wishing they were  
able to go and make publick profession of their own Re-  
pentance ; and others ( whilst some friends offered to  
bring Prelatical men unto them ) professed , that though  
they had sported with such men in health , yet they durst  
not do so at Death ; and some Ministers who had con-  
formed , in remorse thereof , forsook that way , & there-  
after died with convincing evidence of Repentance there-  
fore , and declaration against the same : And indeed , as  
there was never any Course in the Land , which so visibly  
had the Voluntary and Active Concurrence of all and Only  
the Wicked and Prophanes ; so there was never a more U-  
niversal concurrence and Wrestling together by prayer ,  
all the Godly without Exception , against any Party &  
Cause , than now is against this ; for there needs no more  
and to make any man ( though formerly their friend and fami-  
iliar ) to hate their way and detest themselves , but to con-  
vince him of his own Sin , make him thorowly appre-  
hensive of death and Judgment . and become a sincere  
seeker of God , and Student of holiness in his own Per-  
son . And further the late Rising in Armes , is an Argu-  
ment

334 *Some Instances of the Sufferings*

In the Parish or *Berg*, in a Gentleman's house, the souldiours did quarter for 15 weeks, till they consumed the whole provision of the Family, which was well furnished with meal and malt and other necessaries; they also destroyed the whole plenishing (except one table which they left in case they came again) even to the pulling down of the Partition-wall of the main dwelling house, and pulling down of an Office-house without the gate: All this destruction they committed by giving and selling one part within the Countrey, and sending another part to *Glasgow*, and breaking and burning the rest of it, of purpose that it might be useles for the owner, who was forced to flee before, and betake himself to wandering with his brother and their families. And after they had committed all this vastation, they also fell upon their Tennants, and forced them to bring in malt, sheep, fowls, and other things (for their maintenance) that they pleased to call for, and so ruined them also; And two of his Tennants they forced to scatter their families, having threatened to burn their houses, besides all the destruction they had done to their Matter and them before.

In the Parish of *Irongray*, a poor Tenant having bargained with the Souldiours, to redeem his goods for 36 pounds, when he came to *Dumfries*, they would hardly take 50 pounds, so that he was forced to borrow the over-plus, and being returned home to shear his corns, & expecting no more trouble from them, they came back upon him, and took away his beasts and all, even to the leading away his hay. The like was practised upon another in the same Parish.

And further, some Maintenance imposed in the year 1648, being alleaged unpaid by severall Gentlemen and others within the Sheriffdom of *Nithsdale*, letters of horning were raised by the Collectors; which letters and executions thereof were suspended, because the

same

same was already payed, and yet notwithstanding, Troopers were sent to Cess and Quarter upon the said persons, till they should make payment, although the suspension was not discussed; and several of them, to be relieved of the heavy burthen of the Cess and quartering, were constrained to make payment thereof, and that by and attour the Cess for the same, which was far above the said maintenance, in so much that a Gentleman, who at first might have payed for 30 pounds, the Party that went to Cess upon him would not agree to remove for less than 200 merks, Yea after an order was procured from the *Commissioner*, for removing the Cess for the said Maintenance, a party of 8 or 9 horsemen, with their boyes and horses, were sent once again to quarter upon some Gentlemen, until they were forced to make a new address to the *Commissioner* for removal thereof.

By all which, that Countrey was so exhausted of money, that neither poor nor rich cold get it to satisfy these mens demands, and the poor people were forced to sell their beasts in the Markets below their worth; in so much that they were forced to sell a Cow for two Nobles or two Crowns, the souldiours in the mean time standing by to receive the same, although the poor men had destitute families at home: Yea many families whose summs are not here reckoned, in probability are totally ruined, and many others scattered, and particularly in *Lochbrutton* were above 16 families broken, in *Irongray* the most part of the families are broken, beside several that are already put from house keeping, the souldiours having taken away, both there and elsewhere, that which the People should have lived upon; yea several Gentlemen, formerly in good condition, were put from house-keeping, and forced to wander, and be beholden to others for a nights lodging, the souldiers having violently possessed themselves of their barns, cattel and other goods.

Neither

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Neither is this all, the wickedness, prophanity and blasphemies of the souldiours, are rather to be abhorred and supprest than thought or spoken of, if the notoriety thereof were not universal in these bounds.

In the Parish of *Carsthairn*, in an Inn at the Bridge of *Deugh*; on the Sabbathday, some of them being quartered there, they most profanely and atheistically mocked at all preaching of the Gospel, saing, *let us go preach*, and then read their text out of the *Cherry and the Slae* (an old Scotch Amorous Poem) counterfeiting a form of divine worship, and as it is informed did sing an other part of the same Poem in stead of the Psalms, and used all other mocking modes, as if they had been serious at Gods worship.

In the Parish of *Irongray*, an honest man retiring himself to the fields for secret prayer (having no liberty at home) was followed by the Souldiours, who drew swords upon him threatening to kill him, if they heard him praying any more, saying, *Sir, we have heard you many times howling, if we hear you again &c.*

Another time in that same Parish, the Master of the house was exhorting them to leave off their swearing & prophanity, shewing them the danger and hazard they were in of the condemnation of Hell, some of the souldiours mocking at hell most blasphemously answered *By my soul ere I go to hell, it shall cost God 24 hours pains to be get me there.*

In the Town of *Kircudbright*, when one Captain *Fitz* an horseman died, one of his Camerads coming to see him, and finding him dead, came near and rudely gripping the dead man, used this horrid expression, what devil art thou dead man? And did not tell me before that I might have sent a letter to hell with thee (to such a camerade of his as he named, who had died lately before) to take up my winter quarters.

In the same Town also, as is informed, some of them

conveining at the Cross, and drinking there healths, one of them personating . . . (Who dare express whom) used this blasphemous expression to his Camerads , *Ye are my Angels, and I drink to you all.* But we abhorre to mention any more of this sort : only this is certain , that Atheism and Blasphemy is become so ordinary with them , that some of themselves are forced to regrate it.

In the Parish of *Carsphairn*, some of the foot souldiours did so barbarously and cruelly struggle with a man's wife (to have forced her till she was rescued out of their hands by some women) that she for fear parted with child, and keepeid her bed half a year , being neer unto death , and little hope of recovery.

Also in a Gentleman's house in the same Parish, where they were quartered , they cruelly beat some of the servants to the effusion of their blood , for all the good service they had done them.

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### POSTSCRIPT.

BY these things, which have been done in *Galloway and Nithisdale*, as the Reader may compute, what vast sufferings and horrid combinations must be in the whole Land, many places whereof are no less disaffected to Prelacy , when there are so many and gross , in so little bounds and so short time ; so he may perceive, what provocation that poor oppressed people had to endeavour their own preservation , and to take hold of any opportunity for vindicating their religious and civil Interests : and what reasons others, either in the same condition with them , or upon the common

Y ground

ground of Non-conformity , being threatened and  
and justly fearing to be shortly reduced there unto , had , according to their obligation in the  
Covenant , for mutual defence and assistance in new  
the Covenant , for mutual defence and assistance Ex:  
in the common cause of Religion and Liberty , trad  
joyn with them for their help . Neither should they  
have adventured to insert these instances if (beside this  
the diligent care that was used in collecting them , making them credible ; the notoriety there  
of , whereby they were unquestioned in the  
part of the Countrey ; and many such like  
things (whereunto all that is mentioned , is but  
like a preface ) committed since Novemb. 1666 especially in the Western parts , rendering it  
probable , they were not the native product of this Prelatical course , betwixt which and the  
there is such connexion , as is betwixt the cause and the effect , and if the committers thereof  
had not had command , example and encouragement for many of them from the Prelats , who  
they resemble as much as face answereth to face in  
water . It is true the Prelats should no more bear the blame , then Sathan (who restraineth none to  
tempteth to all) should be charged with all the sin  
of man , and they were and are first and chief in their  
transgression , who were their Authors and are their  
upholders and abettors , and in retaliation of their  
flattery of the Powers and connivance at propaga  
nies in all , and in subserviency to their interest in

and designe, have perpetrated and permitted so  
much wickedness and oppression; Yea the Peoples  
the walking willingly after the commandement, will  
never Excuse those, who by Law, Force and  
Example make Israel to Sin: yet it is above con-  
tradiction, that Prelacy is the chief though not the  
only Interest, in subservency to which all these  
things are done; and the Prelats themselves are a  
conjunction if not the Principal cause thereof. These  
men having put off their former vizards, no man  
needeth further to unmask them. Let these who  
employed and maintained Sharp to agent their  
cause, and others who promoted him to the Pre-  
lacy, declare their own Experience, of his con-  
tinued series of ungrate deceiving and undermin-  
ing of them and their Interests, under Trust and  
professions to the contrary, as all men know that  
he hath Impiously and Perfidiously betrayed the  
Church and Cause of God: if they will not, Let  
his own many letters written unto them, be pro-  
duced, as in reason and for Vindication they  
should, and they will evince him to be the Arche-  
Traitor that ever Scotland bred: And how can  
he otherwise be? will he who is false to God, be  
true to any man? If that man escape some stupen-  
dious and disgracefull remark by the hand of God  
their Man, I will not say, that Others need neither  
the One nor regard the other, but sure I am; that  
many more Experienced in the observation of  
divine Providence, and foreseeing than I am, are

much mistaken. Let the City of *Glasgow*, and persons of all Qualities, especially in that countrey-side, ingenuously say, whether that fiery Zelot for the height of English Hierarchy and Ceremonies, and otherwise insignificant man, *Master Burnet* Prelate there, doth not, in just recompence of too many their enslaving their own light and conscience, in flattery of him, and complying with that course, most insolently domineer over them as his slaves, with as much Pride, Ambition, and Contempt, as the most absolute Prince doth over his vassals. Let these of the Synod of *Glasgow* remember, with what deep dissimulation *Mr Hamilton* Prelat of *Galloway*, did by Ex-prests suffrage declare, before the last Synod there, against the same Prelacy, which at that same instant of time, he was clandestinely corresponding with the Rulers to establish. This man of all others, hath been the chief Cause of all the Oppression and persecution in that countrey, and thereby the Occasion of the late rising in Armes, and blood that hath followed thereupon. One instance of *Mr Honeyman* Prelate of *Orkney* I cannot omit, that in the year 1661, when *Mr Sharp* had discovered himself walking in his own garden, he said to a famous person who can bear witness thereof, (Just as *Balaam* spake truth whether he would or not) That *Mr Sharp* was as false as *Iudas*, and I would gladly know, to whom the *Casuist*, who since hath embraced a Bishopric,

nick, will Compare himself for falsehood, except  
to him who entered into Iudas with the sop. I  
need tell no man who knoweth the Persons, of  
the brutish Sensuality of *Mr Wallace P.* of the  
*Isles*, who studieth more the filling of his belly  
than he was ever fit for feeding of a Hock; nor of  
the hatred of Godliness & good men in *Mr Guth-  
rey P.* of Dunkel who while he was Minister at *Sterlin*,  
was an old persecuter of both; nor the  
scandalous drinking of *Mr Straugban P.* of  
*Brechen*, let those who visite him in his own house,  
declare how liberally he useth to entertain them  
with Wine there, upon their own Expence. It is  
true indeed that *Mr Lighton* prelate of *Dumblan*,  
under a Jesuitical like wizard of Pretended Holi-  
ness, humility and crucifixion to the world, hath  
studied to seem to creep upon the ground, but al-  
wayes up the hill, toward promotion and places of  
more ease, honour and Wealth; and as there is none  
of them all hath with a Kiss so betrayed the Cause,  
and smitten Religion under the fifth rib; and hath  
been such an offence to the godly, so there is none  
who by his way, practice and Expressions, giveth  
greater suspicion of a popish affection, inclination  
and design. If these men had not put off their own  
vaile, no pencil of the most skilled Artist could have  
drawn them to the life but now by shewing of them-  
selves, they have saved others a labour, or at least  
made it more easy. And therefore I shall take no  
more into this unpleasant dung-hil of the vilest

vices , which they and their Brethren in Iniquity dep  
(whom not naming here doth not Except from fide  
their part of the charge of Ambition, Pride, Sensua- A£  
lity, Idleness, Covetousness, Oppression , Persecu- sun  
tion Disimulation, Perjury Treachery, and Hatred and  
of Godliness and Good men), have heaped together am  
in their own Persons, and transfused to others over wo  
all the Land. O the immense long suffering and I ha  
unsearchable Wisedome of God ! who, hearing the very  
cry of these things , stirreth not the Zeal of all to may  
Execute his just Judgment upon these men ; but it Jud  
may be , that he is ripening and reserving them offe  
for a more God-like stroke : than any would be ac him  
knowledged to be , wherein man were Instrumen-tal. Neither are their Mercenaries , whom they mak  
hire as Postillions to ride upon the fore-house of al bric  
their Wickedness , less skilled , but more forward to ba  
that way than their drivers. It were as far above the  
the faith of any , who have not heard and seen , to aid  
beleeve , and might render any pen suspected o the  
the want of truth or tendernels , to write thof L  
Hundreth part , as it is easy to instance incredibl will  
much , but endless to relate all that is true of the nuc  
Ignorance , Lightnes and Prophaness of the Min  
men. When I have told , that several lying in knowy w  
and acknowledged fornication , without remova uch  
of the scandal , have been admitted to the Ministris I c  
by the Prelats who knew it and violently obtrude han  
by them and the Patrons upon the offended people  
That some of them after Admission , have bee ile i  
de

iity deprehended lying with women by the way-  
 side ; that Others have been found guilty of  
 Actuall fornication , and of unanswerable pre-  
 sumptions of Adultery with other mens wives ;  
 and that drunkeness is both open and frequent  
 her amongst many of them , I may well awake the  
 wonder, the blush and horrour of the Reader ; but  
 and I have only begun to shew a part (and indeed a  
 the very small part) of these mens wayes. A Prophet he  
 al to may be by way of prognostication but let the world  
 at it Judge of what manner Preacher he must be , who ,  
 offending that the people did not come to hear  
 ac him , did before the Congregation Imprecate thus  
 en against himself , *God nor I be hanged but I shall  
 make you all come.* Another refused to pay the  
 falrice of a horse before he pleased (which he used  
 ardo boast privately would be at Doomsday) because  
 ove the seller , at the making of the bargin , in Civility  
 to aid , *Pay me v vhen ye please* ; and thereupon , to  
 the scorn and derision of all , sustained an action  
 of Law some dayes before a Civill Court . Who  
 will commerce with such horse-koopers ? but  
 much less who can acknowledge such men for  
 Ministers ? These men , being themselves general-  
 ly without substance and forme of Religion , are  
 valuch malicious persecuters of both in Others , that  
 I could never hear of one soul turned from Sa-  
 de han to God by their labours (whereof indeed there  
 plore many prophane seals) so they are become  
 peccile in the eyes of all , that are truely godly , or but  
 de

morally civil; In so much that this is the only advantage, (and indeed it is an advantage, for if they were more smooth and sober, they might be more insnaring) that they do not wear a rough garment to deceive; and though I cannot say, that their out side is as unclean as their inner-side, yet it is faith as such in every mans heart, that *the fear of God is not before their eyes.* These are the pleasant birds, that are hatched and cherished under the warm wings of Prelacy, of whom though no man can speak the half of the truth to a stranger, without exposing himself to the Censure of partiality, Passion, or being a Reproacher; yet the Universal & incontroverted Notoriety of these things, in places where they reside or converse will absolve the Relater before all men who know them. It is true, we do not charge every individual with every particular, yet because they are generally true of Many, and being notourly known and sometimes represented are not remeeded, they are chargeable upon the Course; which being Sinful it self, the Authors and Abettors thereof are participant of the guilt, and liable to the punishment. And indeed the Lord hath already begun his controversy with some of them, not only by pouring shame and contempt upon them (particularly upon Traiterous Sharp) and drying up the Right eye, and blasting the gifts which several seemed to have (whether by their own negligence, which every man observeth, or Immediat judgment, or both, I do not deter-

determine, but also by visible cursing of their substance, diverte of them being necessitated through poverty to sell their tithes at half worth, long before they are payable, and others of them to remove leaving more debt behind, than they are able to discharge. Neither have these men thus profaned the sanctuary only, and by the sins of the Sons of *Ely* made all men to abhorre the offering of the Lord; but from them are issued forth, such overflowing stremes of wickedness over all the Land, that, besids all that is mentioned, there are other inconceivable and inexpressible Atheistical abominations said to be committed by men, which, as it is a Wonder the Devil himself should dare to act, so for fear of the great and dreadful God, & of offending the ears of others, my heart trembleth to think, and my hand faileth to writ. O Lord forgive, t'at ever another speaking, but much more Acting, should have occasioned my Thinking thereof.

And yet, as if all that is related were too little, for sanctuary to themselves, for further enslaving of the Countrey, and venting of inflatiable revenge (cursed be their anger for it is fierce, and their wrath for it is cruel) they have procured two Proclamations, dated at *Edinburgh March, 25. 1667.* making mention of great evidence of many disaffected Persons in the *Western Shires*: who are ready to break out in open Rebellion, and involve the Kingdom in blood; and of just reason of suspition that these

these Rebels will rise in Armes against the King and his Authority, and not only make use of the Armes, Powder & Ammunition concealed or transported from Enemies, but seize upon the Armes of others, and invade the Ministers of the Gospel &c: And therefore for preventing and disabling of them to put themselves in Military posture, to make sudden marches or attempts upon other Subjects, or the standing Forces, or to joine with other persons of Pernicious and disloyal principles. &c. commanding all persons within the Shires of Lanrik, Air, Renfrew, Wigton & Stewarty of Kircudbright, who have refused or deserted publick trust, vwho vwithdravv from publick Ordinances, and keep not their Parish Churches, or do not submit to the present Government of the Churc[h], and all who being warned did not joine to suppress the late Rebellion, unless they take the Oath of Allegiance, and subscribe the Declaration, that after the 15 day of May next, by themselves or any other for their beboof, they do not keep any horse above the value of an hundred merks; and in case of failzie, that the Sherif value and deliver such horses to the Informer without payment to be made therefore; before the first of May, to deliver to their respective Sherifs all their Armes and Ammunition (allowing Gentlemen only swords) under the pain of fining each Gentleman in 2000. merks, and each other person in 500 merks, whereof the one half to the Informer; and commanding all Heritors and Parishioners to defend the persons, families, and goods of their

Ministers, from all affronts and injuries, with certification that the sufferers & not opposers of the same, shall be reputed art and part, & be proceeded against with all rigour as guilty thereof; and in case of surprisal, that they pursue, apprehend and present the committers befor the Council, otherwise to be liable to reparation of damage, &c. What new and strange Policy is there here, that the Narrative of both Proclamations, in stead of concealing in the time of declared and continued War with Forrainers, should proclaime that there are so many disaffected persons, who are ready to rise in Armes, to seise upon the Armes of others, and weaken the Forces of the Kingdom, thereby expressing the sense of their own deservings, and the fears of an evil conscience, discovering their own nakednes to enemies, and encouraging Forrainers to invade with the more confidence? Must these Shires, which, without derogation to others, do eminently flourish with men of Piety towards God and true Loyalty, and during the Kings Exile, did retain a more faithful remembrance of his Interest according to the Covenant, than many other places of the Kingdom, be of all other Shires within the same, in recompense thereof, rewarded with the Titles of disaffected persons, Rebels, men of pernicious & cistoyal principles, and spoiled of their goods? Whence should these, who being spoiled of all Armes, first by the English, and then by the Council since the Kings return, be presumed to have concealed

cealed Armes ! What ground is there to suggest unto the World, the transportation of Armes from Enemies ? Must every man who will not throw away for nothing his Horse & Armes, which he hath purchased by his money , be therefore *a seditious and disaffected person* , and accordingly proceeded against with all rigour? If none within these Shires must keep a horse exceeding the value above mentioned , how impossible is it to labour much of the ground? How are covetous wretches , in hope of gaining horse without Payment , and the half of the Fines for concealed Armes, animated, to give in invidious Informations against the owners ? and many poor well meaning people tempted to redeem their beasts at the rate of Perjury and breach of Covenant ? What an absurd thing is it, to punish men otherwise innocent , only for not accepting or deserting publick trust , whereunto they neither have access , nor can continue in , without formal and express Perjury ? How irrational and unjust is it, to command ( under a penalty ) Parishioners to do that which may be impossible , yea without the compass of their knowledge , such as opposing , but much more apprehending and presenting surprizers ? Wherewith, I pray you , shall these who must deliver up all their Armes (reserving not so much as a sword) defend themselves or any other man , against violence and surprizal ? We read in our History of a Law , whereby for repressing of Theft , men were not to shut their doors in the night,

night, and satisfaction was ensured to the owner for any thing that should be stoln from him; whereupon a Countrey man alleging his goods to be stoln, obtained payment; but being found thereafter that himself had hid them, he was hanged for a reward to himself and example to others; Now what if some of these covetous and malicious Men should (for who can rationally promise and secure, but that they who have done worse, may also) thus abstract or cause abstract their own goods? What if the Lord should immediatly smite them for offering strange fire, or thieves and robbers should fall upon them? or evil Spirits in humane Shape, should haunt or hurt them, must Innocent people upon their invidious and false allegiance be therefore punished? As if the Parishioners of Carphairn should pay for Mekinneys silver plate, which his own servant stole from him.

Ah, Scotland, which the Lord planted a noble vine, vvholly a right seed! how art thou turned into a degenerate plant of a Strange Vine? Where is now the Spirit of the Fathers, that (as if thy inhabitants were neither Christians, Men nor Patriots) Religion, the Land, Ourselves, and the Posterity, in Bodies, Consciences, and Estates should be thus emancipated, to the Interest, Lust and Designe of 14. Prelats and their Hirelings, whom the Lord sparing is a greater wonder, than if he should convert them into Pillars  
of

off salt for their Apostacy: O Backslidden Scotland! remember from whence thou art fallen, Repent & and Do thy First works, or else he will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou Repent.

F I N I S.



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